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SALLĒKHANĀ AND NISHIDHI

P. B. DESAI

I

FOR the purification of the body and mind and for spiritual attainment the Śrāvaka or a Jaina house-holder is enjoined to observe many *vratas*, i.e. vows or religious disciplines. The consummation of such *vratas* is said to be the vow of *Sallēkhanā* or the voluntary surrender of the body with the object of ending it. This *Sallēkhanā* appears to have gained prominence among the Jainas of the Digambara school as seen from its treatment in the religious literature and wide usage in practical life in Karnataka and other regions of South India.

Samantabhadra, the renowned Jaina *Āchārya* (circa 4th century A.D.), has described this vow in his *Ratnakaraṇḍaka Śrāvakāchāra* after dealing with the twelve other vows, comprising the five *Aṇuvratas*, three *Guṇavratas* and four *Śikshāvratas*. *Sallēkhanā* is also called *Antakriyā* or the terminating rite and *Samādhi-maraṇa*, i.e. controlled death. Other expressions denoting this vow are *Inginimaraṇa* and *Ingita-maraṇa*, both signifying purposeful termination of life. *Sallēkhanā* is designated *Mahāvrata* or Great Vow on account of its high importance.

The term *Sallēkhanā* is made up of two parts, viz., *sat* meaning commendable and *lēkhana* meaning wasting away or emaciation (*kṛiśīkaraṇa*). Thus *Sallēkhanā* connotes willingly loosing one's physical vitality with noble intentions. *Sallēkhanā* is some times substituted by another expression, viz., *Sannyasana*, which has a similar sense.

The passage in question in the *Ratnakaraṇḍaka Śrāvakāchāra* runs thus:

Text

Upasargē durbhikshē jarasi rujāyāṁ niḥ-pratīkārē ।
Dharmāya tanu-vimōchanam-āhuḥ sallēkhanām-āryāḥ ॥

(Sūtra 122)

Translation

Sallēkhanā, in the opinion of the wise men, is the abandoning of the body for the acquirement of religious merit, when one is placed in the midst of insurmountable calamities like famine, old age or incurable ailment.

Sallēkhanā, thus, stands on an entirely different footing and bears no relationship with suicide or self-immolation by a wilful act of death by violent means. It is a sublime religious rite, meritorious and voluntary self-sacrifice of the highest order with a noble purpose. To one who prepares himself gracefully for such a sacrifice, death is not an evil, a calamity and horror, but a welcome, blissful deliverance. It denotes moral strength and courage on the part of its performer and not weakness or counsel of despair. Its objective and ultimate goal is self-realization. Many Indian and Western scholars have failed to understand the real significance of *Sallēkhanā* and have wrongly found fault with it.

For smooth attainment of the aim of blissful deliverance, the rules of procedure pertaining to the rite are enunciated in the religious works. They constitute gradual reduction of the intake of daily food, sustenance on liquid diet only, followed by wholesome warm drinks, and finally complete cessation of nourishment of any kind, leading to life's end. By such a process an aspirant is able to free himself from the bondage of body which is the instrument of never-ending woeful Karma. *Sallēkhanā*, therefore, signifies the triumph of the soul over the body. It exemplifies the practical demonstration of the cardinal tenet of the Jaina philosophy which stresses the supremacy of the soul whose true character is unfettered, immaculate and blissful, and its disconnection from the body which entangles it in an endless chain of actions.

Truly, a person who attains his goal by performing *Sallēkhanā* deserves all honour and reverence. His example and martyrdom inspire and instil deeper faith into the hearts of his religious fellowmen. With a view to perpetuating the hallowed memory of such saintly persons the practice of setting up memorials in their name came into vogue. Such memorials which range from the ancient until the modern period, are found in large numbers in many parts of Karnataka or the present Mysore State, wherein Jainism was a predominant religious faith for centuries in the historical period.

II

The post-mortem memorials alluded to above are prepared out of stone, and called Nishidhi-kallu in the Kannada country. The other expressions used in this context are Nisadi, Nisadige, Nisidige, etc. They may be derived from the Sanskrit root *sad*, meaning 'to waste away' or *sidh* meaning 'to attain one's object'. The latter derivation appears to be apt.

The material selected for the memorials are the granite or sandstone, commonly found in the Kannada country. They are cut into slabs and their surfaces are flattened and smoothed. Three panels

are generally carved on the surface, whose main features are the following. The lowest panel depicts the scene of holy discourse, comprising the preceptor and the person who is undergoing the vow of *Sallēkhanā* and inbetween is a stand for placing a sacred book. In the upper panel the person who ended his life by *Sallēkhanā* is being taken to the higher region. The figures of the Jina and the devotee are cut in the topmost panel. Inscriptions furnishing the details of the event, such as the identity of the person committing *Sallēkhanā* and the occasion, etc., are engraved on the stone in the blank space intervening the pictographic panels.

In the above mentioned work, Samantabhadra states that, while undergoing the ordeal the pious devotee should keep his mind balanced, tranquil and contented. This could be achieved by listening to the nectar-like sacred scriptures (*manaḥ prasādhyaṁ śrutair-amṛitaiḥ*, Sūtra 126). He should eschew the desire to live or to die and also the future expectation (Sūtra 129). He should then concentrate his thoughts on the purifying chant of the five Great Preceptors (Sūtra 129). These injunctions are picturesquely illustrated in the first panel of the Nishidhi memorial described above.

The inscriptions of Karnataka furnish interesting information about the vow of *Sallēkhanā* performed by various kinds of devotees, among whom are found pious ladies, faithful lay followers, state officials, princely personages, monks and preceptors of high monastic status. A typical instance may be cited here.

Hāḍuvaḷḷi or Sangītapura in North Kanara District was the capital of a principality founded by a family of chiefs who were firm adherents of the Jaina faith. Among them Sanga Bhūpa was the ruler in the early part of the fifteenth century. His preceptor Māṇikya-sēna, disciple of Jayasēna, was renowned for his religious austerities and ascetic practices. He was residing in the monastery attached to the shrine of Chandraprabha Tīrthankara.

One day, in the presence of the chief, his sons and the faithful followers of the Jaina law, Māṇikyasēna proclaimed his intention to undertake the vow of *Sallēkhanā* and carry it through with their help and cooperation. Accordingly, in the bright fortnight of the month Jyēshṭha in Śaka 1352 and the cyclic year Saumya, the teacher commenced his vow with due ceremony. He gradually reduced the quantity of his food and subsisted for some days on liquid juices only like that of sugar cane. Finally, he gave up everything and after thrity-three days of absolute fasting, expired on the first day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa without physical langour and in full control of the senses. The obsequies of the teacher were celebrated by the chief in the manner befitting his greatness and the Nishidhi memorial was set up to commemorate the meritorius event. The epigraph

giving this account is engraved on a slab of stone .standing in the Hire Basti at Hāḍuvaḷḷi and dated 1429 A.D.[1]

A good number of inscriptions at Koppaḷ and Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa shed useful light on the performance of *Sallēkhanā* and erection of Nishidhis. Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa is well known as a great centre of Jainism to the present day, and it is studded with Jaina antiquities. But Koppaḷ (in Raichur District) which was once, for about a thousand years from the sixth to the sixteenth century, an equally great centre of the Jaina faith, is now completely forgotten consequent upon religious and political revolutions. However, it has still treasured a large number of Jaina relics in its hills and adjoining areas to narrate its religious glory of by-gone days. There are many instances of the Jaina devotees repairing to these holy centres and spending their last days there. Some of them are note-worthy here.

Adverting to Koppaḷ first: On the top of the hill called Pallakki Guṇḍu, near the Minor Rock edict of Aśoka, is engraved a Kannada inscription by the side of two footmarks. The epigraph discloses that the foot-marks were in commemoration of Jaṭāsinganandi Āchārya, carved on the rock by Chāvayya. This Jaṭāsinganandi has been identified with Jaṭāsimhanandi, author of the Sanskrit poetical work *Varāngacharitam*, who lived in the seventh century.[2]

Another notable instance is of Kumārasēna of Sēna Gaṇa, whose account is related in the *Chāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇa* of the 9th century. This Jaina teacher belonged to the line of Chāvuṇḍarāya's preceptor Ajitasēna. An ascetic whose austerities were sharp like the edge of a sword, Kumārasēna first resolved to observe the vow of *Sallēkhanā* at Muḷgund and from there he proceeded to the holy mount of Kopaṇa, i.e. modern Koppaḷ. There he carried out the vow according to the rites prescribed in the scriptures and attained final beatitude.[3]

An epigraph of 881 A.D., carved on a rock at Koppaḷ itself, describes the performance of this vow by the preceptor Sarvanandi. The relevant extract from the inscription[4] (translated) is cited below:

> "Hail! In the glorious Śaka year, eight hundred and three, the illustrious teacher Sarvanandi Bhaṭāra, disciple of Ēkachaṭṭugada-Bhaṭāra, of the Kuṇḍakunda lineage, having stayed here and graciously imparted the teachings of the holy doctrine to the residents of the town and after practising austerities for a considerable time, attained final beatitude by observing the vow of Sannyasana".

1. P. B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, p. 128.
2. Ibid., p. 344.
3. Ibid., p. 134.
4. Ibid., pp. 339 ff.

Another epigraph of the same locality, dated about 1008 A.D. speaks of the preceptor Simhanandi who achieved his goal according to the process of Ingini-maraṇa after one month. Thereafter his disciples erected a Jaina shrine on the spot of his demise to perpetuate his revered memory.[5]

Though disputed by some scholars, the earliest instances of *Sallēkhanā* at Śravaṇabelgola appear to be those of the preceptor Bhadrabāhu and his disciple Chandragupta Maurya, who, according to the Jaina tradition, spent their last days here in the third century B.C. Shrines erected in their honour several centuries later, are found on this hill.

A good many inscriptions at Śravaṇabelgola contain allusions to the Nishidhis erected in honour of monks and faithful Jaina devotees who expired on the holy hill in fulfilment of the vow of *Sallēkhanā*. The epigraphs in question are incised on the pillars of isolated *maṇḍapas* or of halls attached to shrines and holy structures.

Maḷkhēḍ, now a small town in Gulbarga District, was formerly the capital city of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperors, called Mānyakhēṭa. There is an inscription engraved on a pillar of the central hall of the Nēminātha temple in this town. It states that the said pillar constituted the Nishidhi set up in honour of Vidyānanda Svāmi, disciple of Pūjyapāda Svāmi, of the Mūla Sangha, Balātkāra Gaṇa, Sarasvatī Gachchha and Kuṇḍakunda Anvaya. This Vidyānanda Svāmi was a pontiff of high status, bearing the titles, Rāya-rāja-guru, Maṇḍalāchārya, Sakala-vidvajjana-chakravarti and Saiddhāntāchārya.[6]

The instances cited above reveal interesting aspects about the creation of Nishidhis. They were not in all cases confined to the setting up of memorial slabs with pictorial carvings. The other practices of the commemoration were to dedicate pillars of holy structures or independent or attached halls and *maṇḍapas* of temples or shrines themselves to preserve the sacred memory of the deceased persons. Sometimes, bare carved figures or epitaphs served the purpose.[7]

Sonda or Svādi in the Sirsi Taluka of North Kanara District was a stronghold of Jainism in the late mediaeval period. An eminent line of Jaina preceptors who originally hailed from Sangītapura or Hāḍuvaḷḷi flourished here. Outstanding among them were Akalanka and Bhaṭṭākalanka. They were renowned for their profound and versatile scholarship, the latter being the author of the *Karṇāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana*, a monumental grammatical work in Sanskrit on Kannada language. In the funeral ground outside this village are

5. Ibid., pp. 345 ff.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 325 ff.
7. Ibid., pp. 225–26.

seen a good number of Nishidhis, two of which are prominent.   One
of them is the Nishidhi Maṇṭapa erected in the memory of Akalanka
by his disciple Bhaṭṭākalanka.   The epigraph inscribed on the
Nishidhi memorial, narrates the demise of Akalanka, meditating
on the holy feet of the Five Teachers.   Then follows the following
verse.

Text

Bhaṭṭākalanka-dēvāna syād-vāda-nyāya-vādinā ।
Nishidhī-maṇṭapō dṛishṭaḥ sthēyāt āchandra-tārakam ॥

Translation

This Nishidhi-maṇṭapa was got erected by Bhaṭṭākal-
ankadēva, expounder of the doctrine of Syādvāda.   May
this stay on as long as the moon and the stars endure.

The date of Akalanka's expiry, as mentioned in the record,[8]
is 1607 A.D.   The epitaph on the second Nishidhi,[9] dated 1655 A.D.,
narrates the passing away of Bhaṭṭākalanka, while he was absorbed
in the meditation of the feet of the Five Teachers in the presence
of the Four-fold Sangha.[10]

8.   *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 296.
9.   *Ibid.*
10.   This paper was read in the Prakrit and Jainism Section of the XXIV Session
       of All India Oriental Conference held at Varanasi in October 1968.

MATRILINEAL DESCENT AND SUCCESSION
IN SOUTH KANARA

B. G. HALBAR

I. Introduction

THE usual pattern of kinship organization in India is patrilineal descent and succession, with patrilocal residence and patriarchal authority in the family. This is qualified by the following characteristics: (i) In the North marrying of kin and village endogamy are tabooed; (ii) in the South, two specified types of kin are preferred in marriage and there is no taboo on village endogamy. But we also find exceptions to this broad pattern of kinship organization in the south-western part of India, viz., Kerala and the South Kanara District of Mysore and in some of the tribes like the Khasis and Gharos of Assam. The prevalence, in the past, of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence among the majority of the castes in the South Kanara District may be viewed as the northern-most extension of the southwestern matrilineal zone which is supposed to have been connected with the South-east Asian and the Oceanic world. (Karve 1962:335)

But the matrilineal household of South Kanara differed from that of Kerala in respect of marriage customs. (1) In the Nayar case, the woman usually contracted connubial relations hypergamously and outside her own matrilineage, viz., either into higher sub-castes or higher castes. At the least she could establish such relations with men of the same sub-caste or caste. She was never allowed to sink hypogamously (Gough 1968: 169–171). But in the case of the South Kanara matrilineal household (hereafter referred to as the Bunt case) neither hypergamy nor hypogamy was allowed. Marriages were contracted within sub-caste or caste, as the case may be, but outside the woman's *gotra*.

(2) The Nayar case provided for a number of visiting husbands after *talikettu kalyanam* (Gough: 170–171). But in the case of the Bunts *a* woman was married to *a* man, and there was a provision for widow remarriage. Thus, the element of polyandrous connubial relations that was prevalent in the Nayar case was absent in the Bunt case.

(3) Again, the rituals which conferred the status of a married woman on a girl were different. In the Nayar case, the *talikettu kalyanam* or pre-puberty marriage rites marked various changes in the social position of the girl. Through *talikettu kalyanam* she attained social maturity, had to observe the rules of etiquette including the incest

prohibitions associated with one's own lineage, and she was made eligible to receive visiting husbands (Gough 1968: 170–171). There was nothing like a marriage ritual in the sense it is usually understood. But in the case of the Bunts, the marriage ritual was necessary for conjugal rights. The only similarity in the two cases of marriage was that, even after marriage, the woman still belonged to her parental family and clan (or lineage). In patrilineal households, after marriage, usually a woman severes her ties with the parental family and clan (or lineage) and takes up those of her husband's.

Both the Nayar and the Bunt cases were identical in other respects such as descent and inheritance through the female line, residence after marriage, the rights in children, the *de facto* authority in the family, etc. I will return to a description of these aspects later.

II. Antiquity of the Custom

The people following the matrilineal kinship in South Kanara believe that the system was not borrowed from outside and evolved locally through a promulgation of a local chief Bhutala Pandya. There is no unanimity regarding the historicity of this culture-hero or his times. The importance of the story lies, however, not in establishing the antiquity of the custom but in supporting the view-point that the South Kanara kinship system may not have been an extension of the Nayar system though the two areas are contiguous. We have already noted the differences between the two systems. Let us look at the story of Bhutala Pandya. The historian, the late Dr. B. A. Saletore (1936: 347–347) who has assessed the story, refers to at least three versions of the legend of Bhutala Pandya and rejects them as unacceptable:

(1) In Pandya Desa, a king by the name of Saumyavira was routed by Chandrangada and fled to Sukha with his wife Satyavati and a five-year-old son Jaya Pandya. Meanwhile, Satyavati's brother Deva Pandya had failed to persuade his wife to sacrifice one of his sons as an offering to the spirit Kundodara who had made his abode in a gallant vessel he had built for trading with the Southern Seas. Satyavati, hearing that her brother was in a pitiable condition, left the village Sukha with her child Jaya, went to her brother, and offered Jaya as a sacrifice to Kundodara. Being pleased with Satyavati's earnestness and piety, Kundodara spared the boy and led him to Varkula (ancient name of Barakuru). He destroyed the family of the ruler of that kingdom, named Siddheshwar Varma. Here the spirit made the state-elephant garland Jaya Pandya thus making him king of Barakuru and re-christened him as Bhutala Pandya. This event according to *Grama Paddhati* (a Tulu work of later 14th C.

in which the Tulva tradition is embodied) took place in Salivahana Saka 1 (=78 A.D.).

(2) Another version of *Grama Paddhati* narrates that after the extinction of the Kadamba line, the Karnatak dynasty appeared in Saka 705 (=783–84 A.D.). After the death of Vikramankadeva, in his line appeared Bhuta Pandya who was made king of Barakuru by the spirit Kundodara. Bhuta Pandya's great grandson, Veerasena died issueless in Saka 1100. This offered an opportunity to Pandya, a sudra, to besiege Barakuru. But the patron-spirit of the city craved for a human sacrifice at the hands of Pandya. His wife refused to sacrifice her son. But his sister agreed to do so. Pandya then ruled over Barakuru and eventually married twelve Jain princesses in whose honour the city was renamed as Baraha Kanyapura. These twelve princesses gave birth to twelve sons (the Balis, or *gotras*, among the Jains and the Bunts are named after these twelve sons). After Pandya his sister's son Baddadasa reigned. The latter's sister's daughter named Halli reigned after him. Then Vijayanagara rule was introduced in Tuluva desa in A.D. 1228.

(3) Since the third version does not throw much light on the legend, it need not be considered here.

The most important fact in connection with Bhutala Pandya of Tuluva tradition is the law of inheritance through females which he is said to have promulgated. This is known as *aliya santana kattu* (law of descent in nephews by sisters' side) incorporating fourteen regulations (*handinalku kattu*) and sixteen rules (*hadinaru kattalegalu*) (Saletore 1936:352). Bhutala Pandya's name is held in great veneration by the Tulu people. The *aliya santana* governed a large section of the Tulvas and its rules and regulations have controlled Tuluva society for ages, but it is not followed by all the castes of this area. After evaluating the story of Bhutala Pandya and examining the date of the introduction of the *aliya santana* system (pp. 353–361) with the help of internal and epigraphical-evidence, Saletore has summed up his views as follows (p. 366):

1. On purely historical grounds, there never was a person called Bhutala Pandya in Tuluva. But that the stories concerning the depredations of Pandyan agents gained currency in Tulva resulting in a legend concerning an imaginery hero of that name.

2. The *aliya santana kattu*, which no doubt may have been in vogue in lands outside Tuluva in the early centuries of the Christian era or before, was never legalised in Tuluva before the 15th (A.D.)

3. In Tuluva, this law received royal sanction under the Alupa ruler Kulasekhara Alupendradeva IV only in the first half of the 15th (A.D. 1444). At the same time it had received official recognition at

the hands of the feudatories of Vijayanagara emperors elsewhere. Saletore refutes Venkoba Rao's theories connecting it with similar traditions current in southern Travancore villages in the early centuries of the Christian era (Epigraphical Report of the Southern Circle for 1926–27, P. 107).   In his view such statements are mere conjectures.

III.   The Ancient Model of the Matriarchal Family of South Kanara (the Tuluva country)[2]

There were three main types of people in the ancient Tuluva country.   The ancestors of the people like Holeyas, Koragas, etc., who were till recently untouchable, were the original settlers (or aborigines).   The ancestors of the people speaking Tulu and Kannada in the Tulu country, like the non-Brahmin castes of Bunt, Nadava, Billava, Old Paik, Moger, Davadiga, etc., were the Dravidian (Mediterranean) immigrants.   Then came, in ancient times, the Aryan immigrants, such as the ancestors of Brahmins of various sects like Kota, Shivalli, Saivite, etc.   Muslims and Christians are not ancient Tuluvas.   Similarly, Saraswat–, Gowda-Saraswat–, Bardeshkar-Brahmins who speak Konkani, and Karnatak–, Kandavar-Brahmins who speak Kannada, and Marathi-speaking Brahmins and others joined Tulu country only a few centuries ago.   Thus the Tulu culture is a composite culture of aboriginal, Dravidian, Aryan and alien elements.   Even before the Christian era, the Dravidians were prominent in the Tuluva.   They were Hindus of Shaivite sect and followed matriarchal family system.   They were feudatories under the Ballala kings.

Amongst the Tuluvas of that time some aborigines surrendered to the Dravidians and lived as servile castes of the dominant Dravidians and copied their matriarchal family system, giving up their patriarchal system.   But some of them lived in isolation, away from the Dravidian influence and have retained to this day their patrilineal system.   The Brahmins, who arrived in the Tuluva country after the Dravidians and non-Brahmin *savarna* Hindus, retained their original patrilineal descent and succession.   Writers like B. Sitarama Rao think that the *aliya santana* law is quite ancient and that somebody must have tried to link the name of the 13th. (king Bhutala Pandya with this ancient custom as if it was promulgated by him (*Malabar and the aliya Santana Law*).

Aliya Kattu Custom

The conventions of *Marimakkattayam* in Malayalam and *aliya-kattu* in Kannada mean one and the same thing: descent in the line

of nephews by the sisters' side (i.e. sister's son). There is no Tulu word for the custom. Both customs indicated that the right to inherit ancestral property vested in the female line and marriage was not a legal or sacramental act. To entitle women for the right of succession to the property, marriage was not a necessary pre-condition; it was sufficient if a woman had children. The *aliya santana* law which was in vogue in Malabar and South Kanara till recently did not fall under the purview of Hindu scriptures. The children belonged to the mothers and not to the fathers.

The fact that matriliny and matriarchy were prominent in South India even during the times of the *Mahabharata* is borne out by the story of Pramila. Kudva imagines that among the Dravidians of the South women must have been brave and so must have ruled kingdoms. After marriage, the Aryan women left the 'country' and the family of their parents and adopted those of their husbands as their own. The main purpose of their life was loyally serving their husbands and their families. The Dravida women continued to stay even after marriage, in their own 'country' and the family and thus attended on their husbands in their natal family itself. *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* are full of such contrasting women characters (e.g. Sita, Draupadi were Aryan models while Chitrangada and Ulupi were Dravidian models).

Kudva also argues that the wise Aryan sages conceded that the affection of the mother towards children was natural. But this very affection may act as an obstacle to the progress of the children and thus they decided that the protector of the children should be the father and not the mother. Since the rights of inheritance and succession were based on scriptural authority in the case of Aryans, the rights in the ancestral property were vested in the sons and so the Aryan woman's ambition was to beget sons; she herself had no rights in the parental property. To marry and to live with the husband was her desire, duty and ambition. She was in perennial subjugation of males—the father, the husband or the sons—as she moved from maidenhood to the status of a housewife and then on to motherhood.

But *aliya santana* law is an essay in contrast. Here, the woman did not leave her family and *gotra* after marriage. Her husband visited her in her natal home for her sexual favours. She was not to follow him and serve him. The ancestral property rights vested in her and her children and not in her brothers or borther's children. Her husband had no rights in her children; he need not maintain them. In spite of their knowledge of the prevalence of patrilineal descent system, the majority of Tuluvas were convinced of the suitability of the matrilineal kinship organization and so must have created the legend

of Bhutala Pandya and Kundodara in order to give the system a legitimacy and sure continuity.

When he was writing (1948), Kudva could discern a definite change that had already set in the system.   The girls, after marriage, from the families following *aliya santana* left their parental homes and joined their husbands in the latter's families.   The increased spatial mobility of men to settle elsewhere in neolocal families because of new occupations and new jobs necessitated the accompaniment of wives.   The men in the *aliya santana* system were found to be losing interest in the matriarchal, extended-family.   They desired more and more individual freedom and were anxious to care for their own children.   It is said that even Bhutala Pandya had decreed that men of the matriarchal families might bequeath to their own children the property they had themselves earned during their life time.   Because of growing individualism, jealously and enemity among the men, the extended matrilineal families were breaking up into many nuclear families.   This led to sub-division and fragmentation of the joint ancestral property which created serious economic problems. Kudva laments the decline and breakdown of the system.   This system, in spite of its apparent drawbacks, had many good points. Here was the absence of man's tyranny and oppression over women; it did not have the possibility of the agony of young widows or the cruelty of the *sati*.   There was a possibility for the woman to escape from the tyranny of her husband and to live on her own, as she had a definite share in the parental property.   According to Kudva those who desire to give up *aliya santana* and adopt *makkala santana* (descent through the sons) should never forget the good points of the system.

IV.   The Present Position of Aliya Santana

This section is based on the data collected in May-June 1968 in a multi-caste village, Hiliyana, in South Kanara District.   The village lies in a relatively backward part of *Malnad* (Highland) belt of the District with a population of 1759 (843 male, 916 female), and these people live in dispersed settlements comprising loosely-knit clusters of homesteads.   Table No. I shows the population of the village according to caste and kinship systems.   Nine castes, out of a total of sixteen, with a population of 1060 follow the custom of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence.   Though they do not have an absolute majority in terms of numbers, the Bunts (a peasant caste now but a warrior caste in the past) are the locally-dominant caste economically, educationally and socially.   Therefore, they set a pattern of living for other dependent castes.   Again it is

TABLE I

Castes, Population and Kinship Types

Sl. No.	Castes	Males	Females	Total population	No. of families	Average family size
1.	*Bunt (peasant)	241	273	514 (29.22%)	69	7.44
2.	Kudabi (Backward tribe)	135	140	275 (15.63%)	39	7.05
3.	*Handa (potter)	112	140	252 (14.35%)	30	8.40
4.	Muslim	69	76	145	20	7.25
5.	*Billava (Toddy Tapper)	60	66	126	14	9.00
6.	Brahmin	59	64	123 (6.99%)	19	6.47
7.	Achari (Smith and Carpenter)	37	37	74	14	5.28
8.	*Harijan (Backward caste)	36	33	68	11	6.18
9.	Samagara (cobler)	26	24	50	8	6.25
10.	*Madivala (washerman)	13	19	32	5	6.40
11.	*Mogaveera (fisherman)	16	12	28	3	9.33
12.	*Bhandari (Barber)	7	11	18	1	18.00
13.	Ganiga (oil-presser)	10	6	16	2	8.00
14.	Waddar (stone-cutter)	10	6	16	2	8.00
15.	*Koraga (scheduled caste)	8	8	16	3	5.33
16.	*Nairi (Temple attendent)	4	2	6	2	3.00
	TOTAL	**843**	**916**	**1759**	**242**	**7.26**

*Castes which follow matriliny; others follow patriliny.

the Bunts who are more enterprising and innovating and so are more change-prone. Thus they are the people who have been adopting more and more features of the patrilineal and patrilocal or neolocal family and the related rituals of marriage and the mode of marriage celebrations. Table No. II shows the number of spouses staying together and those living apart in their respective parental families, among the castes following the *aliya santana*. Of the total 269 married persons in the village living in 138 families following *aliya santana*, 179 spouses live apart (mostly in their parental families), while 90 spouses live together. The tendency of husband and wife living together is on the increase in the case of the Bunts who are socially advancing and among the wage-earning and backward castes like Harijan, Bhandari, etc. It is interesting to note that the living together of husband and wife is still rare in peasant castes like Handa, Billava, Nairi, etc. who are educationally backward.

Descent and Succession

The descent is traced through the female line, though the relatives from the father's side are recognized as kin. However, the focal

point of kinship reference is the woman and not the man.   In the past,
ideally, no affinal relative, including the husband, lived in the matri-
local family.   Now we find that affines also come to live in the matri-
local family for various reasons.   For example, Table No. III shows
that among the families following the *aliya santana*, there are six
families which include affines (I have called them intermediate families).

<div align="center">TABLE II</div>

Residence after Marriage According to Castes Following Aliya Santana

Sl. No.	Residence Castes	Spouses living together	Spouses living apart	Total
1.	Bunt	50	56	106
2.	Handa	16	73	89
3.	Billava	10	20	30
4.	Harijan	8	9	17
5.	Madivala	2	7	9
6.	Moger	2	8	10
7.	Bhandari	2	2	4
8.	Koraga	—	2	2
9.	Nairi	—	2	2
	TOTAL	90	179	269

<div align="center">TABLE III</div>

<div align="center">Castes and Family Types</div>

Sl. No.	Castes	Elementary	Extended	Intermediate	Total
1.	Bunt*	33	34	2	69
2.	Kudabi	22	17	—	39
3.	Handa*	12	17	1	30
4.	Muslim	11	8	1	20
5.	Billava*	3	9	2	14
6.	Brahmin	14	4	1	19
7.	Achari	7	5	2	14
8.	Harijan*	5	6	—	11
9.	Samagara	4	4	—	8
10.	Madivala*	3	2	—	5
11.	Mogaveera*	2	1	—	3
12.	Bhandari*	—	1	—	1
13.	Ganiga	1	1	—	2
14.	Waddar	1	—	1	2
15.	Koraga*	1	1	1	3
16.	Nairi*	2	—	—	2
	TOTAL	121	110	11	242

*These castes follow matriliny; others follow patriliny.

If[3] there is no female issue, a woman is allowed to adopt a girl as daughter with full privileges of a real daughter. They do not observe any special ritual or ceremony nor do they rely on verbal agreement, hence the deed of adoption has to be registered with the sub-regisrar of the *taluka.*

Who is the authority (or head) in the family ? Since the property is inherited matrilineally the eldest woman in the family is the *de jure* authority. But the *de facto* authority rested with the eldest man in the family. The brothers have only the usufruct right in the ancestral property till their death. They cannot sell or bequeath their shares. The sisters have the legal right to use, to sell, and to bequeath their shares. Whatever dealings are ccarried out by the manager (or *yajamana*) in regard to property, he has to do so with the express consent of the women.

In public celebrations, social contacts and on such other occasions the men represent the family, not the women. Maintenance of the home is the main responsibility of the woman. She also assists the man in the farming operations or joins him for wage labour, dependig upon the castes. Man's major responsibility is the activities outside the home. In the familial rituals, the woman performs the sacrificial offerings to ancestors. It is the duty of the male to worship serpent-deities and family-deities.

Widows, widowers, orphans and infirms etc., live in the mother's family. A widow returns to her parental family along with her children after the death of her husband in case she has been living in her husband's family. The matrilineal extended family is a single economic unit. In case there is no adult male in the family to act as the manager, the husband of one of the sisters comes to manage the affairs of the family, but he himself belongs to his mother's family. Usually, the eldest brother acts as manager and may give some support out of the income of his ancestral family to his wife and children if they are living in her mother's family. This has structural implica-tions leading to conflicts between maternal uncles and nephews, with a complaint from the latter that the former is draining away their family resources.

In a way, the property is held severally. The ancestral property is held in common with equal share for all the siblings. Men cannot bequeath or sell their shares, which lapsed to the sisters after the death of brothers. But a man has right to the property he himself has earned and may dispose it of in the way he wishes, namely, he may give it to his sons and/or daughters and/or wife. In the past, when matriarchal families were the rule, all the lands owned by *aliya santana* families had to be shown in the Record of Rights Register of the village in the name of women. A scrutiny of the Register showed

some names of men (30 %) belonging to *Aliya Santana*, indicating a change in property holding pattern. When men bequeath their property to their sons also the inheritance takes a patrilineal shape. A drastic change in the property-rights had been introduced by the passing of the various State and Central Statutory Acts like the 1935 *Marumakkathayam* Act (Kerala), the Madras *Aliya Santhana* Act of 1949, and the Hindu Succession Act of 1956 which confer equal, absolute rights in the ancestral property on the men as well in this area. But it is alleged that there are certain snags in the Aliya Santana law which militate against the interest of justice. To set right the drawbacks of these Acts in regard to aliya santana law, the Aliya Santana Amendament Bill was framed which is pending before the Mysore State Legislature since 1961. The delay in passing this Bill into an Act is supposed to be due to the vested interests in this community.[4] All the property divisions subsequent to 1949 confer equal rights in the ancestral property for both males and females and the people here have been following it. Since these Acts benefit men in this area, they have been used in both letter and spirit, whereas inpatrilineal areas the rights of women in property conferred by the Hindu Succession Act remain a dead letter. This change in property rights is affecting the kinship system and related social phenomena in this area.

It is possible to believe that under the ideal matriarchal family system the usual jealousy and conflict of interest as between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law or between one's sisters and wife that are inherent in the patriarchal family do not affect the harmony of the matriarchal family. Thus the matriarchal family in this respect is better. But when sisters' sons grow up, they usually revolt against the authority of the mother's brothers, especially when the latter are draining off the family's resources for their wives and children or when they are extravagant.

Where the traditional matriarchal family system is followed "the absence of companionship of father and children, husband and wife and the independence of the women as regards their husbands results in a family as different from the northern family as it is possible to imagine" (Karve 1953:182). The actual supervision and control of children is in the hands of maternal uncles, especially the head of the family. He has to act as a disciplinarian and so the relations between uncles and nephews and nieces are those of awe and respect. It is obligatory on the part of the uncles to look after the children of their sisters in case the latter died. Therefore, the saying goes that "If the mother were to die, at least the mother's brother should be alive." Since the man only visits the wife's matriarchal family occasionally, he treats this children very affectionately and they behave with him with relative freedom.

Another feature of the matriarchal family composition and its effects may be noted. There is the possibility of strong bonds of affection (as well as of hate and conflict) among the siblings of both sexes, since they stay together whereas in patriarchal families they have to be separated after marriage of the females. The legends already referred to show that a man's closest and most reliable ally is his sister and not his wife. Recently the families, with their changing composition partly because of more and more possibilities of affines entering them, are losing their harmony.

In these ways the traditional matrilineal and matrilocal families and the system of descent and succession are undergoing radical changes in South Kanara.

1. This is a modified version of the paper presented at the 56th session of the Indian Science Congress (Anthropology and Archaeology Section), held at I.I.T., Powai (Bombay) from January 3 to 9, 1969.

I am grateful to Dr. Gopala Sarana and Dr. Albert C. Heinrich for their valuable suggestions while revising the paper.

2. This section is based on the views of K. K. Kudva (1948: 6–7, 19, 21–32).

3. The following description of the system is in the ethnographic present tense. The description holds good for the past and is relevant to the present only to some extent, since the system is undergoing change.

4. 'Snags in Aliya Santhana Law' *The Indian Express* (Bangalore edn.), April 24, 1969, p. 5.

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AN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION: WHAT IS THE OBJECT OF PHILOSOPHY OR WHETHER PHILOSOPHY HAS NO OBJECT AT ALL?

GERHARD FUNKE

It is necessary to start with confronting a thesis, pleaded for by illustrious men of letters and in consequence sometimes celebrated enthusiastically, with an antithesis. The hypothesis upon which we proceed is: In philosophy as an investigating endeavour, in philosophy as in all sciences, literature, arts, and humanities, knowledge precedes profession of faith, and it is as a science only that philosophy deserves a place at the university. Thus it is the exposition of the fundamental problem of critical philosophy that raises the question what is the object of philosophy or whether philosophy has no object at all.

The 'Speeches on religion, addressed to the learned among its despisers', deemed necessary by *Schleiermacher* in 1799 in order to revive the spirit of religion at a time when the traditional religious inwardness was declining, might, in the middle of the 20th century, be echoed, perhaps not for the same, but certainly for equally good reasons, by a 'Speech on philosophy, addressed to the thoughtful among its despisers'. The generality of the contempt, in the one case as in the other, is well-known; the same may perhaps be said regarding the amount of learning to be found on the part of the despisers of religion and philosophy.

In the case of philosophy contempt is signalised by the devaluation of the term itself. 'This is my philosophy' has become a current phrase, and the expression, used at widely different occasions means nothing else but: 'This happens to be my opinion! To a *critical* mind it is evident that mere opinions, which may be had for the asking, are infinitely variable and irrelevant. A ministry stating that the philosophy it was guided by in procuring the appliance X had been this or that, shows to what extent the term 'philosophy' has lost its former meaning. On the other hand Philosophical Departments in the universities, the representatives of the time-honoured subject of 'philosophy', still cling to a completely different meaning of 'philosophy'. If philosophy is nothing else but a collection of general thoughts and mere opinions, which 'common sense' readily offers at any occasion, the contempt of philosophy is fully justified.

By his 'Speeches on religion' of 1799 *Schleiermacher*, in addressing the 'learned' among the despisers of religion', wanted to win back for religion the credit which, at that time, it had lost to a

large extent. Surely religion once meant everything. At the second or third crisis of European thought, i.e. at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, it was often misunderstood, sometimes forgotten, and also despised. It was above all the elites that thought religion dispensable, since the contents of religion seemed to have been resolved into philosophy—metaphysics, ethics, aesthetics. Goethe's remark, that those who have science and art have also religion, has again and again been used to characterise this situation by being interpreted to the effect that science and art made religion superfluous. The other possible interpretation of the phrase, namely, that the genuine personality, if it has developed a sense of science and art, undoubtedly also possesses a sense of religion as of a separate province of spiritual life, is shrugged off without further consideration. Religion, for *Schleiermacher*, is not a science. It is not philosophy and metaphysics; it is, strictly speaking, no theory. This is precisely why religion can be an object of propaganda. There is no pleading in favour of insight, there is no suing for knowledge. If philosophy is theory, and as far as philosophy aims at scientific understanding and comprehension, it is impossible, one and a half centuries after *Schleiermacher's* attempt at reviving religious faith, to address the despisers of philosophy by way of propaganda. All that can be done is to display logical steps; claims of the soul must be left unfulfilled: the learned among the despisers of philosophy can only be addressed as thinking men. To think is necessary.

It should not be difficult today, in a uniform society measuring everything by the standard of practical utility, to reach an agreement on the position of philosophy on the social scale. In modern society philosophy is regarded as unpractical and completely superfluous. It seems to be the knowledge of what is not worth the knowing. Perhaps it is given a certain amount of credit as an 'art of thinking', which may gain aesthetical or privately biographical importance for individual persons. The association of 'futile speculations' suggests itself almost irresistibly, and it is only the strangely long-lived claim for seriousness upheld by philosophy that excites curiosity. Philosophy is discarded as a theory of '*weltanschauung*' for people occupied with raising a second world behind reality, as a set of opinions on God and everything else which everybody is free to form according to his personal predilection. *Schopenhauer* is called upon for styling philosophy a sedative, the ill-famed philosophy of professors for professors of philosophy.

In opposition to this, it must be asserted that philosophy is investigation and research work. It is theory, and does neither belong to the field of 'praxis' nor of 'poiesis'. Obviously the question, what philosophy is, can only be answered by pointing out the object

it deals with; if such an object cannot be shown, philosophy must necessarily appear 'objectless'. If philosophy is theory, this means of course that it is theory regarding certain objects which belong exclusively to its sphere. The polemical phrase that the only problem of philosophy is philosophy itself is meant to express a general disregard of philosophy. The same attitude towards philosophy is to be met with, where its proper field of study is said to be the *history* of philosophy, for this means really nothing else than that the problems with which philosophy is occupied were created by itself.

What is here expressed in an aggressive and polemical form, can easily be reduced to its substantial core. Since the time of Socrates and Plato, the task of philosophy has been to draw a distinction between 'doxa' and 'episteme', i.e. to distinguish subjective opinion and belief from objective knowledge. Philosophy, then, in this sense, has nothing to do with mythical allegories, religious beliefs gnomic verdicts or poetical confessions. Moreover, as an investigation of or as the continuous effort to obtain knowledge about, relations of being and matter of fact it cannot provide maxims recommending this or that behaviour. Philosophy, as a theoretical discipline, may provide the foundation for normative systems, but primarily it is not itself practical wisdom, common sense, knowledge of life or practical advice.

Whereas the several scientific disciplines have each a real object of their own—e.g. plants in botany, sick and decrepit bodies in medicine, languages in philology—it is not the task of philosophy to deal with a hitherto forgotten section of the given reality with a view to filling the gap and completing the picture drawn by the other sciences. It does not belong either to natural science or to arts, nor to humanities.

Actually philosophy is a science that deals with problems which are exclusively its own. In order to get at these problems, however, it is necessary to break through the native self-assuredness of living in certain conceptual contexts taken for granted in natural science or arts, in social sciences or humanities. In every branch of natural science or arts the scholar proceeds on the basis of certain suppositions which are not themseves the object of his studies. The world has indeed been divided among the various branches of natural science and arts, among the different disciplines of letters and humanities, and work in all these numberless disciplines is based on tacitly acknowledged conditions, which form a horizon of unproblematic belief.

One thing philosophy cannot do: it cannot present in a nutshell the results of all the research work done in the fields of natural science, humanities, and arts. Nor is it, the task of philosophy to

arrange the results of other disciplnes in their proper order and to make them easily available. Nor is philosophy able to attain by its own methods, the very results which, with great subtlety, are reached in the several branches of natural science and arts. Philosophy, then, does not open up an easy road towards reality. It is not an eclectic collection of results found in other disciplines, and it is emphatically not an encyclopaedic universal science. What, then, is philosophy, and what is its object? .

Every branch of science, be it in the sphere of natural or social science or of arts (or of whatever it may be), proceeds on the basis of certain suppositions which are not themselves discussed in the respective discipline. The intention is fixed upon what follows from these suppositions, the suppositions themselves, however, remain hidden. Thus, in the concrete development of scientific knowledge that which thrust itself most irresistibly upon the attention of man, rebellious and striking facts, formed the object of the first inquiries. And the most striking thing, in this context, may well have been that a miraculous bond seems to link all things together, that they appear to be determined by a dark and hidden power. As even *before* the rise of modern science, in the strict sense of the word, man's mind was already directed towards knowledge, perhaps occult knowledge, in this sphere, there seems to be no good reason for modern science, *after* the full institution into its task, to neglect this aspect altogether.

Of course, the factual scientific disciplines, which have eventually been formed into branches of learning, are all intent on looking behind the given objects which come within their scope in order to explain them and even to reduce them to more fundamental facts. This invariably practiced procedure shows one constant characteristic, namely, that the boundary of what is not yet explained is continuously pushed back. But inquiry of this sort is always based on a foundation which is taken for granted without discussion and hence, strictly speaking, constitutes a dogmatic position. It is 'topically' fixed, it proceeds on the basis of suppositions for which no proof is given. E.g. the foundations upon which the special inquiries conducted in the fields of natural science and arts rest are not only not accounted for in these disciplines, but do not appear problematical to them at all. From this point of view, it may be said that all these disciplines, however critical and even sceptical they may be regarding the connection of objects in their respective fields of interest, must be quasi-naive as to their point of departure.

In order to solve a special problem in astronomy no astronomer starts with discussing the possibility of knowledge as such or of knowledge in his special field. He leaves out as irrelevant for

his inquiries questions about the relation of thinking and being, knowledge and object. That these questions, though not brought up for discussion, are implied in the initial position cannot be doubted. The least that is taken for granted seems to be that knowledge as such is possible, that the object of inquiry appears in the form of 'being', and that, as a part of nature, the object differs in its form of being from all historical phenomena. To these general suppositions the special suppositions made in the respective sciences must be added. That, in a given case, an X is perceived in the form it is perceived depends on far more conditions than are inquired into by the research workers of the respective discipline. The *number of conditions* upon which a certain thing depends always exceeds the number of factors which are relevant in the respective special discipline. There can be no doubt that a problem or the remainder of a problem is left to be solved here.

It follows that philosophy indeed *raises* itself the questions it deals with— viz. by *raising them to the level of consciousness.* Philosophy does definitely not occupy itself with the description and classification of mundane objects of any kind. But this does not mean that it finds its objects in a phantastic cloud-cuckoo land. In philosophy scientific interest is directed towards that which in the several branchs of arts as well as natural science is taken for granted as the basis of scientific research. That there is a problem here is noticed by philosophy only. It is the specific characteristic of philosophy to show that the given, that which is taken for granted. is only seemingly self-evident, to point out the conditions upon which it depends, and to comprehend it in the context of the respective fundamental suppositions. All the different branches of natural science and arts taken together deal with the world as it manifests itself first in everyday, then in scientific experience. Philosophy, by drawing attention to the suppositions which are taken for granted by them and depriving the knowledge reached by them of its seeming self-evidence, attains a problem and an object exclusively its own. It is fundamental research in the strictest sense of the word.

As a set of clandestine conditions upon which the world-object of naive and of scientific experience depends, this foundation, this basic set of conditions, which is the object of philosophy, cannot itself be 'of this world'. In a word: the object of philosophy is what, in the respective branches of natural science and arts, 'is taken for granted as the basis of proof', and nothing else. A number of consequences ensue.

1. Philosophy is neither a branch of natural science nor of arts nor of social science, since it deals with the entire complex of

conditions, premisses, and *suppositions*, without which natural science, arts and social science would not be possible.

2. Philosophy is fundamental *science*, since it does not indulge in *ravings of fancy* and *speculation* about the suppositions which form the basis of those disciplines, but discovers relations of the type, 'if x, then y', which show that a certain thing or the world as we know it must appear as it does, if these or these premisses are taken for granted.

3. Philosophy turns out to be *topical* and not *utopical*, for it does not invent its objects at will, creating a second world of its own making, but finds them in the conditions upon which the objects inquired into by natural science and arts depend.

4. Philosophy never and nowhere pivots round pretended eternal, ever recurring problems, but only deals with those problems that are implied in the findings of native and practical experience: it inquires into the hic et nunc pressing questions and tries to further the understanding, by pointing out the underlying assertions, of what *here and now* appears as *self-evident*.

5. It follows that philosophy is not only *topically* fixed, but also dependent on *historical* conditions, since all pretended or real knowledge is based on certain foundations (or basic sets of conditions), which are to be localised in history, and is historically influential and relevant. Thus philosophy is subject to continuous changes.

6. Philosophy, in this sense, is not *dogmatical*, but *critical*; it does not *pronounce authoritatively*, but recurs to the given phenomena in order, though, to *comprehend* them on the basis of the suppositions implied in their intentional meaning. Thus philosophy shakes tranquil acquiescence in acknowledged truth and becomes the cause of permanent unrest in fundamental research.

7. At no time philosophy is what it was before, for in its iterating regression towards conditions and suppositions of continuously increasing 'remoteness' the results can never be 'the same' as in its earlier endeavours, and thus, by incessantly extending backwards its *reflexion on the underlying conditions of possibility* of what is given at any moment of history, becomes more and more 'subtle', 'detached', 'unnatural', 'esoteric', and even 'unintelligible' and incomprehensible for the 'man in the street'.

8. Finally, philosophy can never be *popular* or *true to life*, or fit into the familiar world of 'common sense', since it analyses critically even that which appears familiar and sound above the shadow of a doubt and regards as problematical what the socalled 'common sense' looks upon as most unquestionable and self-evident

truth. The aim of philosophy is not to find out what is taken for granted, but to throw light on the foundation of this belief.

9. Thus, philosophy sets out from the *actual* stock of experience in the respective fields of interest, but it does not accept the secret metaphysics contained in all everyday and scientific experience, i.e. it does not admit without examination any naive or doctrinal final explanation, nor does it rest assured in any dogmatic position. This means that philosophy, in spite of its starting from metaphysical positions, is not itself *metaphysics, but method*.

10. Philosophy is not, in the first place, teaching, i.e. communication of points of view and doctrines in certain historical contexts are looked upon as important and at best provide a useful tool for those who want to fulfil the requirements for a successful participation in sensible conversation. *Primarily* philosophy is the continuous process of *philosophising* itself, i.e. the process of ever renewed recurrence to complexes of causes and reasons which, in the framework of a many-layered reality, are relevant and vital firstly to *me*. This process is, however, a *logical process* and has nothing whatsoever to do with a historically interpreted *return to the mothers, to myth*, to all-glorifying *Pre-Socratic thought*, to *etymological origins*, to *primordial Pelasgianism*. Philosophy is not romanticism, neither in a more recent nor in its latest variety, but enlightenment, enlightenment even of the dark spots of the soul, of power, sex, and 'mauvaise foi'—permanent enlightenment. The logical retreat to the underlying causes and reasons of what is brought to light by experience and knowledge can never come to an end and lead to acquiescence in a historically grown exemplary position, for the sole reason that the contents of experience and knowledge, i.e. the given phenomena that have to be explained, are in a continuous historical flux and forever bring up new and unexpected phenomena worthy of further inquiry. It is here that philosophy finds its object.

If it is right that philosophy, in recurring to the foundation of a certain opinion or supposed knowledge, dissolves familiar and seemingly self-evident contexts, it is easy to see why philosophy should be found *disquieting*. As philosophy never simply accepts or leaves untouched the claim to validity of what is taken for granted. it provides a *critique, test*, and *correction* of practical, religious, ideological, and scientific belief or conviction. So far philosophy has to follow the necessary and regular course of experience and science. But nevertheless it is and remains the realm of freedom.

Striving to legitimate the given stock of experience and knowledge by inquiring into its logical foundation, the philosopher attains his freedom only in transcending and leaving behind the seemingly

self-evident. This he can only do, if he provides criteria enabling him to comprehend what is traditionally acknowledged, from a novel point of view, i.e. if he escapes from the attraction of the respective pattern of understanding which he had been subject to before.

If somebody says that he cannot make sense of modern literature from *Lautréamont* to *Jean Genet,* of modern music from *Schönberg* to *Stockhausen*, or of modern art from *Picasso* to *Pollock*, this is rather unimportant. A wholesale condemnation of these pheno-mena is hardly wiser than the unguarded deification of unmistakably human productions. But to profit from the occasion by looking behind the surface of the phenomena for points of view which allow us to grasp their hidden and amazing meaning—this is what brings about the liberation of thought from its confinement in the narrow precinct of the given. Of course philosophy, like all methodical investigation has to view things in the context of the laws to which they are subject, but in addition to that it has to find a superior view-point from which the known appears as meaningful. Such a view-point does not necessarily press itself upon the attention. Only by going beyond the given, in a certain respect, it may perhaps be found. Without *freedom of meditation* this is impossible. Paradoxically the philosopher cannot be without this freedom, if he wants to be taken seriously. Of course, his interest is at first exclusively focussed on the object at hand. But as a man of methodical research he wants to know why this or that appears as everybody sees it. The why-questions can at no stage be discontinued arbitrarily. The philosopher continues to ask 'why?' and thus finds his object in an obviously changed world. For it is thinking, perceiving, experiencing, comprehending, and understanding only that changes the world.

From the point of view of practical life this continuous endeavour to enlighten the basic foundations of being and knowledge may well appear futile, for the practical man is interested in what is *immediately* useful. Fundamental research as such is completely indifferent to him. He recognizes it only, because he knows from experience that after all there actually are applications of it which can be manipulat-ed or organized for certain purposes. But, at first sight, the task of philosophy appears futile, and he who, with the help of society, pursues it, the man of basic research work in general and above all the philo-sopher, may from this point of view be termed an 'official idler'. Since it is a difficult long-term task to explain the given with ever increasing precision, the man of permanent investigation, the philo-sopher, must hold an office, an office also in the sense of protestant Christianity where success is not attained with logical necessity, where many endeavours indeed turn out to have been in vain.

The philosopher uses his freedom after having subjected himself, in the process of knowledge, to *matter of fact*, he uses it by posing a *hypothesis* which sheds a new light on the given.   It is here, as a recent inquiry about academic licence shows, that freedom of thought is to be found.   From a sociological point of view, philosophical freedom is bound to become more and more indentical with 'academic freedom', for the pursuit of scientific investigation requires today an apparatus of ever increasing complexity and precision. By such an apparatus we mean the ingenious technical appliances used in natural science as well as the appratus criticus of the book-consuming arts scholar.   The dependence on what has been observed, thought, and analyzed before and what now can only be made available by means of a complicated apparatus makes it necessary to resort to new systems of organization in science.   In the 20th century the man of science can no longer be a hermit, and even the philosopher does not philosophize in his tub any longer.   The acquisition of what has been thought before is realized in full dependence on institutions which enable such an acquisition by making available the necessary apparatuses.   These institutions will be to a large and increasing extent academic institutions.   The philosopher is also dependent on what is placed at his disposal in the form of 'technical' apparatus and what he would never have availed himself of on his own.

But after he has fulfilled the necessary conditions which guarantee his becoming familiar with his field of study, after he has practised obedience, he may proceed towards superior points of view.   If he finds such points of view, what was before taken for granted is dissolved and he crosses the barriers set up by traditional thought and judgment.

Philosophy, then, lives in *contexts of 'if x, then y'* and not in speculative projects claiming absolute validity.   *Critical reflexion* and not *dogmatical decision* is what it aims at.   That is precisely why philosophy, never procuring definite verdicts for the minds of men to acquiesce in, remains a source of permanent unrest.   This critical philosophy is soberly connected with the given and its underlying causes and reasons.   It does not appeal to the heart or exhort the will, and it does not take refuge in inwardness.   It is analytical and tries hypotheses.

If, however, 'security', 'integration into the world of everyday experience', 'sanctifying of traditional systems of control and regulation', 'stabilization within one's own sphere' are looked upon as the most important tasks of our time, then a critical philosophy asking for reasons must appear out of date on the background of this tendency.   Where uncertainty is found unbearable and the desire of

security grows beyond all proportion, a fundamentally critical philosophy, in transcending the usual and familiar, must be regarded as the meddlesome intruder par excellence. That is why dogmatic systems of science, of *weltanschauung*, ideology, and religion have always taken offence of the method of *iterative-reflexive* criticism in philosophy. In the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries, the doctrinal metaphysics behind the various positions of *religious teaching, secularized systems of 'weltanschauung'*, and *scientific systems transformed into ideologies* has been subjected by philosophy to increasingly profound inquiries. The fact that such inquiries were made proves that what was before taken for granted must have become questionable, for otherwise such inquiries aiming at an *elucidation of causes and reasons* could not have been conducted at all. For these inquiries imply that the pretended final explanation of those all-explaining systems is *not* accepted as 'final'.

As in the case of 18th century orthodoxy, such a critical scrutiny of the claim for absolute validity is regarded with profound suspicion by the various forms of quasi-scientific *weltanschauung* in the 19th and of ideological doctrines in the 20th century. If philosophy, adhering to its task of critical scrutiny, looks behind what is taken for granted in religion, *weltanschauung* and science for the suppositions upon which its validity rests, it becomes the *intellectual conscience*, a conscience that exhorts thinking.

Philosophy pursues its task of enlightenment where rigid metaphysical systems, religious codes, scientific doctrines, and biassed ideologies stop asking further questions. It places itself within the scope of its critical inquiries, not in the 'natural' attitude towards the world, but reflexively. It is never and nowhere rational prophecy, but application of reason to the phenomena. From the point of view, therefore, of definitive and secluded systems, philosophy is regarded as something that is never complete, something that causes unrest and thus appears as utterly unreliable. In the 20th century the ideologies based on class or racial partiality are the best examples for social contexts in which it is a matter of course to look upon the free endeavours of philosophy as heretical.

At a time when, from a desire of security, the human mind has definitely surrendered to the facts of the ruling ideologies, philosophy must appear out of date. The prevailing consciousness rests assured on the present stage of ideological development so that there is no room for philosophy, if it goes beyond authorized opinion in order to inquire into its *reasons* and its *legitimation*. Whether the tasks which offer themselves here are actually seen and solved at any period of history, it remains true that philosophy finds its proper field of study by *reflexive regresses to* the *conditions of possibility* of

what is given here and now.   In this sense, philosophy is a legitimate science, even if it actually fails to fulfil its task.   Besides the quaestio facti there is always the quaestio iuris that needs being answered.

Pre-Scientific curiosity was intent on grasping the magic relations behind the surface of things.   *Philosophical inquiry* aims at discovering those factors behind the phenomena which are either themselves natural or constitutive of nature.   In both cases, what is aimed at is a more profound knowledge which does not stop short at the surface relations, but pierces them.   Thus the task of philosophy is named: it consists in the continuous dissolution of familiar bases of belief; it is iterative and critical, inter-subjective and international.

Only through such a series of reflexive fundamental inquiries is it possible to reveal formerly held beliefs, if as practically *useful* illusions, though nevertheless as *illusions*.   In discovering that what is taken for granted in the natural and scientifically transformed picture of the world possesses only a preliminary evidence, philosophy detects illusions.   As it dissolves the familiarity of unreflective life in the sphere of more or less authorized beliefs and doctrines and fails to present the naively expected explanations of the world and its parts and to stop short at long presumed results, philosophy is *disillusioning*.

Those who live within the sphere of common opinion and common sense are disillusioned and disappointed, if they are not given what, in the familiar context of their sphere, they expect to find.   In this more subtle sense, philosophy is disillusioning.   Again and again it destroys the authorized and familiar explanations by continuously penetrating what seemed to be so well-known and by making it appear uncanny.   This means that philosophy is the perhaps interminable *process of disillusioning*, since it disappoints the most fondly cherished dogmatical expectations.   And since 20th century man seems to cultivate, above all old expectations and long-cherished dreams, which philosophy, going deeper in its analysis, cannot confirm, this very man finds philosophy disappointing. It disappoints him to such an extent that he turns his back on it and substitutes for the critical (the 'disillusioning') attitude decisionistic engagement and spirit of partiality.   Enthusiastic adherence to absolute dogmatical and metaphysical positions is the consequence: Car tel est notre plaisir.

It is true that, in its critical endeavour to elucidate reality, philosophy proceeds from 'theses', from 'dogmatical and final explanations', from 'fixed positions', which it encounters in the 'normal consciousness' of the 'average contemporary'.   But it regards as problematical and inquires into, what is naively taken for granted in them.   Philo-

sophy sets out from the same basis as naive and methodical scientific consciousness. But it does not regard this basis as final. In this it is fundamentally revision of metaphysics, although the basis from which it proceeds always implies itself a metaphysical position. In the form in which it appears today, it will be the object of its own critical reflexion tomorrow.

To philosophize, then, from Plato to Kant and Husserl, means to be able and to be compelled to ask questions even there, where everything seems to be self-evident. And in this attitude philosophy is disillusioning and disappointing. However, the dissollution of wonted opinions and the destruction of their appearance of finality is not effected arbitrarily in philosophy. All its reflexions are directed by and proceed from, the respective topical situations, topically fixed knowledge, and systematical attempts. Even philosophy does not explain all, and not all at once. It remains dependent on the given, as it manifests itself, of phenomena. It does not talk about things which may exist somewhere or nowhere, but about reality as it appears here and now. In this respect it may be regarded as a '*contemporary science*' in the strictest sense of the word: it follows up what at present appears problematical. It is *topically fixed* and does not hunt for *utopical relations*. It is based on historical phenomena, but it is not content with historical explanation; it lives in a logically fulfilled kairos, not in any kind of '*exemplary*' past; it call for experimenting sagacity, not for existential profundity, it looks for reasons by reasonably stating the possible limits of reason itself.

No doubt, philosophy, in continuously criticizing metaphysical positions which are taken for granted, only denies their *final validity*. This does not affect the indispensability of such 'absolute' positions for life and action. It regards as preliminarily justified what, in that context, is looked upon as final. From this point of view we understand why philosophy should be reproved of never 'really' explaining anything. This is why it is regarded as *having no object at all*. It is said that philosophy continually replaces its results by new ones and has not only not yet reached the level of strict science, but is not able to attain this level at all. But this objection, often repeated in the course of history, implies itself an unadmitted thesis, namely that the various branches of natural science and arts, of social sciences, letters, and humanities, achieve all that is to be done in the critical explanation of reality, within their field and that there is nothing in them that could appear 'questionable', that should be made the object of further inquiry. Perhaps scientific consciousness is no less subject to illusions in this context than naive consciousness. It is certainly true to say that 'life is quicker than the reflexion that is meant to account for it'. But it seems to be equally

true to say that so-called 'common sense' lags behind the 'critical intellect'. 'Common sense', an admirable thing as such, is not a fixed quantity, but turns out to be a variable, namely the 'average result of popularised philosophical doctrines'. The fact that un-critical minds settle quite comfortably in this historically originated and historically changing sphere of 'common sense', does not imply the impossibility of penetrating the illusion that this is the competent standard of *final* truth. Thus philosophy, in this sense, provides also the indispensable control of 'common sense' which, from its very *limitedness*, is always apt to maintain definitive assertions and to claim *unlimited* validity for them. Philosophy discovers the histori-city and preliminariness of common sense, too.

Our own society, daily practising the belief in progress and in consequence hailing the new on behalf of its novelty, a society plung-ing from one kind of *avant-gardism* into the next, is nevertheless extremely reactionary in continually appealing to 'common sense' as the touchstone of truth. Actually, this 'common sense' is a product of history and remains the *arriére-garde of thought*. The going behind what is familiar to and comprehensible for, such 'common sense' is not effected by those who are confined to its sphere.

Of course, philosophy, too, makes use of 'common sense' and lays claim to its title at first. It proceeds from the basis of 'common sense' and assimilates what can be got hold of on this level. In this sense it is not inferior to common sense. At the same time, however, it rises, in reflexion, above its basis and frees itself from it, because it does not remain confined in the final conceptions of the average man, of naive life, and of the so-called normal consciousness, which are concomital effects of the averageness of 'common sense'. A new and superior point of view from which the undisputed validity of wonted conceptions and opinions appears problematical, can only be attained after the formerly acknowledged dogmatical positions have lost their obligatoriness. Philosophy is the process in the course of which this development is made transparent, a process of iterative reflction (yet disclosing 'construction').

If one does not expect philosophy to provide *final doctrines*, but regards it as a methodical process, it is possible to explain its concept. In opposition to all *thetic assertions* which claim *final validity*, philosophy follows the *hypothetical method* inquiring into the underlying suppositions of the given. It defends the right of criticism and of a continuous regress of explanation against every dogmatically fixed doctrine. However much the contents of such a historically dependent philosophy changes and however difficult it may be in that case to point out the object, it invariably deals with,

this *philosophy* still remains formal iterent *philosophizing*, i.e. *fundamental research* by permanent critical reflexion.

To raise oneself to the level of criticism is to liberate oneself. To throw off the naive conceit of regarding one's own opinion as above the possibility of doubt and of viewing oneself as a proxy of the 'Weltgeist', is a task which, as well as any other, deserves to be tackled by the best—a task which above all in our pluralistic society, must be acknowledged and fulfilled. A task which, if resolved, makes possible mutual and world-wide toleration. If philosophy contributes to the fulfilment of this task, it certainly has an object. And it is the *objection* that philosophy *lacks* an object which turns out to *be objectless itself.*

CULTURE HISTORY:

Source Materials and Methodology

V. N. Deshpande

Synopsis

Still widely prevalent is the view of history, that "political history is...the backbone of history." (R. C. Majumdar) But, is not political history only an aspect of culture history? This article attempts to deal in a broad way the meaning of culture history; also it attempts to consider methodological problems and other issues, such as, levels of culture description, objectivity etc. Finally, the relevance of these considerations to a few of the problems connected with the reconstruction of culture history of India are briefly touched.

The article does not attempt to deal at depth any of the issues of great importance to philosophy of history (e,g., "interpretation", "description", "descriptive integration", "objectivity", etc.). Its purpose however, is limited merely to directing attention to the problems of culture history in a broad perspective. The aim rather is to stimulate discussion in areas where history and philosophy meet.

I

INTRODUCTION

The enormous advances made in the social sciences in recent times have vastly changed the meaning and scope of and methodological research techniques relevant to history. History can no more be conceived merely as a chronicle of the wars and conquests, the fortunes and misfortunes of a few luminary figures—the kings and queens, the dictators and world conquerors. Conceived in its widest sense, it includes all that man has done and thought from the beginning of his career to this day.

Cultural anthropology, that culture science *par excellence*, more than any other has contributed both to the widening and deepening of the scope of culture history. Early anthropologists spoke in terms of ethnology, their interests being largely in reconstructing the culture history, not of these or those peoples as such, but the culture history of the mankind as a whole. They used what is known as "the comparative method" and reconstructed what Dugald Stewart called theoretical or conjectural history of mankind.[1] They were evolutionists. Their guiding principle for reconstructing the history

of mankind could be thus stated: "Human nature being fundamentally everywhere and at all times the same, all people travel along the same road, and by uniform stages in their gradual but continuous advance to perfection, though some more slowly than others"[2].

But these early efforts to reconstruct the culture history of mankind were sadly deficient: the data on which they relied were many times undependable and the use of "comparative method" led to superficial generalizations.[3]

Though anthropology began as culture history, it showed a new awareness of interest, and forged new techniques for studying Man and his Works, being profoundly influenced by the success of the natural sciences.

The twentieth century saw the emergence of a school of anthropology—the structural-functional school—which showed little interest in culture history, interested as it was in the study of simpler societies that lacked recorded history, and obsessed as it was by the natural-science approach of studying things first hand, without bothering about their past; for studying these simpler societies they used the method of participant-observation and field work. In the last decade or two, the pendulum is swinging back to a renewed interest of anthropology in history. Prof. Evans-Pritchard, one of the ablest contemporary anthropologists of Oxford, quotes with relish Maitland, who said that "Anthropology must choose between being history and being nothing."[4]

Culture concept: It is anthropologists who have done much to clarify the "culture" concept. Though anthropologists are sharply divided on what they mean by culture (and we need not bother about these disagreements), they seem to look upon culture to have two planes of meaning: (*a*) culture as product and (*b*) culture as process.

(*a*) As "*product*", culture is that complex which denotes a total way of life of a people: its material part includes among other things its artifacts, its technifacts etc., and the non-material part, the socio-facts—its ideology, its norms and rules (social usages)— by which they are enabled to lead a specific "form of life ".

(*b*) As "*process*", culture means transmission of this way of life from one generation to another; this aspect is clearly implied in the phrase "cultural heritage". As product, culture history is concerned with ethnographic description of a specific culture at a specific historical time. But as process, it delineates historical change and continuity; the cultural dynamics is primarily concerned with this aspect of study.

3

II

CULTURE DESCRIPTION

The aim of culture history is to present an *objective-culture description* of a people (i) at a certain historical time and place (synchronically); (ii) or at different historical times (diachronically); (iii) or comparative culture-descriptions of different peoples (comparative sociology).

I must hasten to raise two questions demanding explication of the two key terms "culture description", and "objectivity".

"Description" is a vague and flat term. It would be desirable for an adequate logical analysis of "description" to consider different level (or orders) of description.

(A) First Level (Ground) Description

A description at this level is an interpretation of the historical source-materials (or the data) such as the archaeological finds (seals, coins, figurines, artifacts, technifacts, skeletal remains epigraphic records, written records, mythology, ritual and folklore, etc.).

The task of the historian is to "interpret"[5] his source materials; and to interpret these, is to seek their "meaning". The cultural historian asks the question: "what do they mean?"

The source-materials, I should think, are the "symbolic medium"; the task of the historian then is the search for an objectively acceptable meaning of this medium.

(i)   This medium may be material: potshreds, stone or metal tools and implements, fossils etc. This material medium, when "properly" interpreted, i.e., when its meaning is adequately sought, yields description of the material aspects of culture.

(ii)   This medium may also be non-material: mythology and religious ideology, oral literature (folklore), technical know-how, etc. Also, the medium may manifeast itself in the action-frame, i.e., in the form of ritual ceremonies, drama, pantomime, the cultural behavioural patterns, etc.

The medium, whatever its nature, is *symbolic*; and by "symbolic" is meant two things:

(i)   What is symbolized is complex and rich, and is inadequately incapsulated in the symbol.

(ii)   As incapsulated, the symbols have no unique, unambiguous connotation. In most of the cases, the symbols are multivocal, i.e., have more than one meaning.

How   does a historian interpret his medium?   To interpret

"correctly" is to ask the question: What is the "true" meaning of this or that datum?

The historian seeks these meanings, through the help of a variety of techniques, appropriate for the kind of medium (source material) he is trying to interpret. And it is here that culture history has to depend so heavily upon hundreds of techniques developed by the sciences—natural and social. A historian at this level has either to be a specialist in the use of specific scientific techniques, or he has to lean on the scientific expert who "interprets" for him the basic (ground-floor) data.

The use of scientific techniques has raised the problem of historical objectivity.

To articulate the focus of this problem, I shall make use of two (rather arbitrary) illustrations drawn from Indian archaeology, and Indology. (Though these illustrations are drawn from Indian history, I hope, the point I shall make has a general relevance to the culture history of other areas as well).

1. Archaeology: the Allchin Case

"Prehistoric archaeology is concerned with the description and analysis of extinct socio-cultural systems... The archaeologist, of course, cannot directly observe the behaviour of individuals he is investigating. What he does observe are the physical remains of this behaviour, which form the primary data of archaeology... Through inferential analysis the archaeologist (then) attempts reconstruction of extinct socio-cultural systems."[6]

At the archaeological level of interpretation and historical description, history is science, in as much as it uses rigorous scientific techniques to seek the meaning of the data it is concerned with at the moment.

This medium when interpreted provides us with a description of the material culture of the respective peoples.

The criteria of what is the true (objective) meaning of the archaeological medium are established by the canons of interpretation worked out by the archaeologists. These criteria, though accepted as valid for archaeological data, are irrelevant when applied to non-archaeological source materials. Also, the kind of description (i.e. the meaning of the archaeological data) an archaeologist provides is a description of one aspect (the material aspect) of culture. Archaeological data "say" little about the non-material part of culture.

The above view though largely true, may yet need qualification. The distinction between material and non-material culture though useful, is still vague. Interpretation of the source materials in which

an archaeologist is interested in terms of the material aspect of culture alone may go wrong because culture is not so neatly divided in terms of material and non-material in actuality, but is an integrated unified whole. An archaeologist may yet need to take account of (non-material) ethnological factors in interpreting his data.

An excellent illustration of this is provided by the brilliant work of Dr. F. R. Allchin on "Ash-mounds". (These are found at many places in South India.) Even as eminent an archaeologist as Sir Leonard Woolley interpreted one of the ash mounds at Budikanama as being due to "early ironworks"—an interpretation in harmony with the archeologist's preoccupation with the material culture.

Dr. Allchin pointed out why this could not be right. He argued that the existence of these ash mounds could be explained as due to "the ritual burning of dung accumulated annually or over long periods within the cow-pens". He brought forward anthropological as well as archaeological evidence to support this view.[7]

Thus, too exclusive a preoccupation with material culture may mislead an archaeologist; he must keep an open mind when interpreting his material. The search for objective and rigorous interpretation is an ardous one. A historian who is specialized as an archaeologist (or an epigraphist) must follow this trade in search of rigour and accuracy in interpreting his material; but he must avoid being an intellectual blinker, who refuses to see anything beyond what his techniques teach him. I wish to say that specialization in culture-studies though inevitable, may yet blind one to the fact that the various aspects of culture are not distinctly separated but are unified wholes.

2.   *Indology*: *Woolley—Mujumdar Controversy*

By and large, an archaeological description covers the material aspects of culture. And what the archaeological data mean depends upon the archaeologist's conceptual tools and the criteria established by his discipline to decide the validity of his interpretations.

Let me now turn to interpretation of source materials that deal with non-material culture source materials, such as a religious "corpus" or a "literary text".

If the source material is, say, a religio-cultural corpus, such as the Rigveda, the techniques for seeking true meaning of symbols in these texts would be vastly different. The work of eminent Indologists in the last one and half a centuries is a testimony that the search for objective meaning of these symbols (data) is an extremely difficult and hazardous task; this does not imply however that it is an impossible

task. Considerable progress has already been made towards acceptable modes of interpretation and techniques in this field.

The source material here provides an extremely rich insight into non-material part of culture of the peoples of those times (e.g. Rigvedic period), unlike archaeological data which can tell us little about this aspect of culture.

The temptation on the part of a historian to apply one set of criteria of objectivity appropriate to one *kind* of source material which he is interested in and is familiar with, to other kinds of source materials where it will be misleading and irrelevant, has been extremely great and has led to misunderstanding and dogmatism. I shall illustrate this through the famous dispute between Dr. Leonard Woolley (an eminent archaeologist of international repute) and Prof. R. C. Mujumdar.

The dispute arose as a result of Prof. Woolley's refusal to attach little importance to literary evidence when not supported by archaeological data. "This radically (altered, the whole position regarding the Rigvedic culture, as conceived not only by Indians, but many eminent European scholars, during the last one hundred years."[8] Dr. Mujumdar asks: "Why .... should we reject the evidence of the Rigveda on the ground that it is theoretical and controversial, and refuse to include in the cultural history of mankind the oldest intelligent and comprehensive account of the intellectual, social, religious and moral evolution of humanity..."

Now, an archaeologist may be so much impressed by the success of his spade that for him nothing is genuine historical evidence except the archaeological finds; on the other hand, a Sanskritist may distrust the archaeologist's attempt to reconstruct culture-history on the basis of figurines, seals and skeletal remains, and may come to value as source material nothing beyond his literary texts. For history, however, both—the archaeological finds and the literary documents of the Sanskritist—are evidences of *equal value*. While the former may give valuable information regarding the external manifestations of an ancient civilization, the latter may provide the internal manifestations of man's religious beliefs, outlooks, customs, folkways, religious practices, cultural interaction phenomena, etc. We need not think that some historical data are "hard" (e.g. archaeological finds) and the other, "soft" (mythological, folkloristic etc.). The problem of how to interpret them, however, remains.

A specialist in the field is prone to the temptation of falling into the error, that the criteria of validly interpreting the kind of data he deals with, are also the criteria for interpreting other kinds of data; for him the criteria he uses become the paradigm in terms of which he evaluates the validity of interpretational efforts in all the other fields.

The logical point that emerges from the discussion of the "Allchin case" and the "Woolley case" is, that the criteria of objectivity (i.e. what constitutes "genuine" source material and what is its "valid" as distinct from the speculative interpretation) would vary from one historical field to another, and any attempt to impose one set of criteria appropriate to one field on another can only lead to intolerance, dogmatism and confusion.

What is the role of scientific techniques and generalizations at the ground-floor level of description?

With the technical advances of the natural, social and cultural sciences, the interpretation of the "first level data" can now be done more rigorously and the risk of error continuously minimized. In the use of such techniques history tends to be technically scientific.

But the use of such techniques is not an end in itself. It must ultimately subserve the aim of providing an historical narrative (description). This aim has been excellently summed up by Prof. Gallie: "The basic and constant aim of the historian is to present an acceptable, because evidenced and unified, narrative: chance developments, creative developments, routine developments, necessary or forseeable developments must alike be woven into the whole design, and their categorical diversity is indeed liable to be lost under the even texture of great historical style."[9]

An historian makes use of many kinds of generalisations from science, natural or social (such as the uncovering of the motives of human action through the use of psycho-analytic concepts, or the use of the generalizations from comparative philosophy etc). A discerning historian will be critical and cautious in the use of such techniques; but the use of generalizations in the main is only a means of providing a coherent and unified description. If here and there he fails in the strict use of techniques which are of greatest importance to the specialist (such as the archaeologist or the epigraphist or the linguist), that need not vitiate his main results. An historian has many times to play two roles: that of (i) a specialist (ii) or and as an historian. In these days of specialization, these two roles are increasingly separated.

A historical description is a net-work or a web woven out of numerous threads of interpretation of historical clues or evidences; as long as the main aims of an historical narrative (followability, continuity, consistency and coherence) are continuously sustained by these threads he need feel no serious qualms; a weak link, or an illegitimate intrusion of a thread may cause worry to the specialist but need not be fatal to the main job of the historian.

This brings us to the set of problems that concern, what I would

describe as "the second level description, or the level of descriptive integration".

(B) Second Level Description: Level of Descriptive Integration

I mean by this, the work of the historian not as a recorder or a specialist only but involving "integration" of the first order interpretational material processed from different *kinds* of source materials. The culture historical description entails the "integration" of interpretational materials drawn from various sources, such as, epigraphy, puranas, vachanas, etc.[10]

Here, it may be fruitful to compare the work of a culture-historian with that of a field anthropologist.

3. *Culture Historian and the Anthropologist*

The work of a culture historian resembles that of a field anthropologist, with the difference that a historian deals with the historical corpus, the anthropologist with a living society. Both are engaged in the "descriptive integration" of material (data) they deal with.

I am here following the views of Evans-Pritchard[11] in spelling out the following three phases an historian has to pass through: (1) In the first phase, the historian (as well as the enthnographer) learns to think in the concepts of the peoples whose culture at a certain historical time he is concerned with and to feel in their values. "He then lives the experience over again critically and interpretatively in the conceptual categories and values of his own culture and in terms of the general body of knowledge of his discipline." (2) In the the second phase, the historian tries to go beyond "this literary and impressionistic stage" and to discover the socio-cultural order of the society. This is the historico-sociological level of analysis. As with the social anthropologist, the historian is not merely to observe and describe the social life of a . . . people, but seeks to reveal its underlying (cultural) structural order, the patterns, which once established, enable him to see it as a whole as a set of interrelated abstractions". (3) The third phase is the phase of cross-cultural comparison; he compares his work with the patterns in other societies.

III

PROBLEM OF OBJECTIVITY

At the first level description, objectivity may be largely understood in terms of the correct use of scientific techniques and principles in deciphering the meaning of the data.

But at the second level of description the objectivity is largely conditioned by the claims of the historical narrative.

The problem of objectivity could be better seen, if we here consider the *logical form* of a historical narrative.

Here, I am persuaded by Prof. Gallie's thesis that the *form* of an historical narration resembles a *story* or a *novel*. "All history is, like Saga, basically a narrative of events in which human thought and action play a predominant part. But most historical themes tend to run beyond the interests, plans, lives and works of any one group or generation of men. History seems to run past individuals, using them perhaps for a little while and dropping them without any compunction when once their usefulness is exhausted. On the other hand, we know, to quote Marx, that men make history: history is made up of human actions within the world and of nothing else. Both these aspects of life are perfectly conveyed by the great Sagas. But equally all history—at least all history of the kind that interests us all—expresses and is in a way delimited by the influence of what Ranke quaintly called "the ideas", meaning by this, such dominant trends as can give shape to the aims and actions of successive generations, and which we can see mounting to some kind of culmination."[12]

"What then, does the word 'history' mean? We have seen that it stands for a wide family or syndrome of researches and writings, the key members of which always contain narratives of past human actions. These narratives are followable or intelligible in the same general way that all stories are. Of course, to be historical a narrative must rest upon evidence, i.e., it must deal with events that can be shown to have actually happened at roughly assignable dates and places. An historical narrative, furthermore, will usually succeed in making its subject-matter more intelligible to its readers . . . . by showing its inter-connections with other relevant historical evidences and results."[13]

IV

CONCLUDING REMARKS

What relevance, the remarks so far outlined in this essay have, for reconstruction of culture history in India?

Preoccupation with methodological considerations pertaining to historical research must enhance a sharpened sensitivity to our conceptual and technical tools, and an awareness as to the limits of deployability of specialities (such as archaeology, epigraphy, etc.)— all aiming to delineate specific aspects of culture history of a people's past, as "truly and objectively" as their disciplines can permit. Such

considerations must help to cut to proper size the claims of each spe-
ciality, as to what it can say about a historical past of a people.   Thus,
it can help avoid dogmatism as to what constitutes true and valid, as
marked off from speculative and unwarranted generalizations based
on either insufficient or the so-called spurious or pseudo-evidence.
Considerations as to the nature of historical explanation as logical-
ly different from scientific explanation must free us from the evils
of "scientism"[14] and dissuade us from employing criteria of objectivity
relevant for the exact natural sciences to areas where they may be
either irrelevant or misleading.

That there are various levels of description, starting from inter-
preting the ground floor data and rising to higher and higher levels
of intergrative description must also make us wary to use uniform
criteria of objectivity to all levels of description.   Also, the dichotomy
of "scientific" and "speculative" as evaluatory terms for historical
description are too neat for a just critical estimate of any piece of
historical interpretation.   For higher levels of integrative description
we will have to use criteria of coherence and consistency rather than
correspondence with historical facts as revealed by or through the
source materials.   The source materials themselves are of diverse
kinds; and the question of "what the historical facts are" as shown
by the data, admits of no uniform answer at all.   The "data" is sym-
bolic (using "symbol" in a wide sense) and the question of inter-
pretation is one of determining what they (symbols) mean.   To
decide for instance, the age of a particular excavated strata of a site,
one may need to employ C_{14} (carbon) dating techniques; if it is an
inscription the problem is one of deciphering it correctly; and if it
is a straight forward historical text the question of interpretational
risks are much less.

It is held by some that political history is the "backbone of
history".   Prof. R. C. Mujumdar, for instance, has said: "The poli-
tical history of each period, as far as it is known to us, must be the
starting point of our study as it forms the backbone of history."[15]
From the point of view of culture history this is a questionable dogma.
Political aspect is but one aspect of culture, and functionally and
structurally political organization and institutions and their historical
agents are integrally involved with other parts of culture.

This view has great relevance when we are concerned with the
culture history of India.   That Indians have exhibited poor historical
sense (awareness) is sad; it is also sad that we cannot reconstruct
adequately political history of early India.   But for culture history
this need not be considered as fatal.

Consider the problem of chronology.   A historian is rightly
worried about dates; the chronology fixes for him the historical

sequence of events. A history without chronology is like a body without the skeletal frame. If the chronology is not definite we cannot do any thing more than arriving at the most rational decisions as to possible dates based on whatever scanty data we have.

But for culture history, and especially, if we are interested in ethnographic description, a broad sequence of periods in most cases serves the purpose of the ethnographer; a definite date, if available, is excellent to have; but if not, what does it matter, if we are to delineate the culture of a people in a broad frame-work of historical sequence?

In India we have the further problem of regional histories, vis-a-vis all India history. A historian dealing with a regional history may for methodological convenience concentrate on a regional culture though he should never forget that his culture-area is not an isolated unit, but is an integral part of wider culture. This "holistic bias" can alone ensure coherence and consistency between regional historical description and the all-India picture, because ultimately the regional history has to integrally fit in with the all-India picture.

Regional histories based on regional language records, again, presents a problem for a historian concerned with the all-India historical problems. The close relation between language and culture would require a deep intimacy with the language if a historian has to do his job adequately. For all India history we need experts who are both linguists and historians working as a team, especially in areas of inter-regional concern, movements and culture growth.

Finally, if the aim of culture history is to reconstruct the culture of a people "as truly and objectively" as possible, historical research should not be motivated by any other socio-cultural goal, such as that of national intergration except the goal of historical objectivity. History must tell the truth and nothing but the truth, no matter how much unpleasant or harsh the truth. Intellectual integrity must demand of a historian, that he should not make compromises with the forces of national, provincial or linguistic chauvinism; he is not swayed away by current national dogmas (such as "Indian culture exhibits unity in diversity", etc.) nor pragmatic consider ations such as using history for purposes of national integration.

If history is self-knowledge and if a historical probe into ones cuitural past is some kind of psycho-analysis of culture, a historian must do it in a clinical spirit. If history is a mirror in which our past has to be seen objectively, we must try to see it as *we were*, and not as we wish we were, nor as what we ought to have been.

Acknowledgement

I am deeply grateful to Dr. B. R. Gopal (Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture) for reading the manuscript and offering critical suggestions.

For any errors in the paper, I alone am responsible.

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2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. p. 38–39.

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5. I am not clear as to how sharply I can distinguish between "interpretation" and "description" (i.e. what are the criteria which will distinguish the two).

   In interpretation, there are three things:

   (i) What is interpreted;

   (ii) the *process* of interpretation (Is the process not the same as inferring?);

   (iii) the interpretation itself (the product).

   I should think that from another angle, it is possible to say that: (i) source-materials are what is interpreted; (ii) the process of inferring isinterpretation; (iii) and, the interpretation itself (product) is description.

   (I am grateful to Prof. K. J. Shah for making me aware of this problem.)

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10. P. B. Desai, *Basaweshwara and his Times*, Kannada Research Institute (Dharwar, 1968), P. XIV–XV.

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GANDHIAN POLITICS: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

G. S. HALAPPA

Gandhiji was essentially a political leader who sphereheaded the national movement in India. He was not a political scientist in the true sense of the term. He has no scientific works which are supposed to enunciate his political thinking. His political ideas however, have been collected from his utterances and writings.

Th expression 'Gandhian Politics' has acquired great significance because Gandhiji practised politics in an unusual manner. He is regarded as a revolutionary and reactionary politician by different schools of thought. It is necessary to understand the basic approach of Gandhi to politics and his concept of State. Gandhiji was involved in India's freedom fight against British imperialism. The techniques he adopted to challenge British imperialism and attain national independence and the solutions he prescribed for the healthy functioning of the body politic deserve careful study. He is dismissed as a political dreamer by his critics while he is regarded as a practical idealist by his admirers. Gandhian politics are characterized by certain distinct features. We shall proceed to analyse them.

Means and Ends in Politics

Means and ends relationship is a basic problem in political philosophy. Gandhiji seems to be the only political thinker who refuses to recognize a dichotomy between ends and means. His keen sense of moral perception and predeliction towards the spiritual made him to be concerned solely with the means, and the ends were of secondary significance. He was led to this position by his firm belief in Satya (Truth) and Ahimsa (Non-violence).

His exposition of the means-ends relationship is succintly brought out by the following observations made by him: "For me it is enough to know the means. Means and ends are convertible terms in my philosophy of life.[1] "We have always control over the means but not over the end."[2] "I feel that our progress towards the goal will be in exact proportion to the purity of our means."[3]

Gandhiji held that the cause that one espoused had to be just and clear as well as the means. Further, impure means must result

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1. Hind Swaraj, P. 115.
2. Young India, December, 1924.
3. D. G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma*, Vol. 5, (1st edition), P. 366.

in an impure end, and that truth could not be secured through un-
just means, or liberty through oppressive acts, or socialism through
eniemity and coercion, or enduring peace through war. Gandhi
explicitly rejected the doctrine that the end justifies the means. This
implies the rejection of war, espionage and crooked diplomacy, even
when they are adopted for the so-called noble ends of defending the
country, religion or humanity.

This dual relationship between ends and means visualized by
Gandhiji has particular relevance to the prevailing political condi-
tions in India. The present tussle between the Prime Minister and
the old guard in the Congress Party is a continuous process of one
trying to humiliate the other. Various actions by the protoganists
of the two groups in the last few months are ungandhian. The main
consideration is the fight for power. Gandhiji held that power may
be justified as a means to a higher end but in the attempt to employ
any and every means to secure and maintain power it becomes an
end in itself.

Non-violence and the teaching of Satyagraha

Gandhiji was primarily a man of action and not a political
theorist. All his activities throughout his long and fruitful career
were inspired by a consistent philosophy of life. The essence of that
philosophy was non-violence. "Non-violence is the law of our species
as violence is the law of the brute".

He visualised three principles on which the realization of non-
violence was based.

1. He held that truth in this world could not be discoverd,
except through non-violence.

2. Non-injury and absence of any deliberate attempt at coercion.

3. Purity of means flows from the first two.

Nevertheless, votaries of truth and even non-violence have
used untruth and violence in the service of a cause they considered
supreme. The modern example of this is furnished by Communism.
Its end, the establishment of a classless society, is considered by it so
supreme that love, truth, justice, humanity and freedom are sacrificed
in pursuit of it.

Gandhiji always held that injustice and tyranny must be resisted
non-violently. He rightly feels that only the non-violent votary of
truth can be fearless. He would rather that people used violence in
a just cause than submit to tyranny out of fear. With him non-
violence is a creed and a way of life. "I hold that non-violence is
not merely a personal virtue. It is also a social virtue to be cultivated
like the other virtues. Surely society is largely regulated by the

expression of non-violence in its mutual dealings. What I ask for is an extension of it on a larger national and international scale."[4]

Gandhiji's philosophy of life for the individuals and groups was based upon the idea of the supremacy of the moral law. Satyagraha is active non-violent resistance. Satyagraha implies readiness to suffer for a cause one holds to be just and right. Gandhiji tried his experiment in Satyagraha to achieve the independence of India from foreign domination, a field in which it had never been tried before. The world knows the success his techique brought to the freedom struggle in India.

Following widespread experiments under Gandhiji, this technique of non-violent action spread throughout the world. Satyagraha in a modified form has spread in other countries. In these cases, the technique has already moved beyond Gandhiji. For example, the adoption of non-violent action in the American Negro struggle against racial segregation and discrimination. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan wrote that Gandhiji was the first in human history to extend the principle of non-violence from the individual to the social and political plane. Non-violence today remains a powerful instrument of revolutionary change in many parts of the world.

Concept of Sarvodaya

Gandhiji's political philosophy is the outcome of his experiences which he gathered while dealing with life in all its aspects. His concept of *Sarvodaya* is the product of such a process. He has deep-rooted faith in truth. Truth to him is God and is the path to which all ladders of human ethical development lead. Truth being the unity of all life, self-government consists in loving and serving all. In Gandhian thought the individual is given an important place. In fact, the individual is the basis of Gandhian thought. He is at once a means and an end in himself. He is a means to the realization of the highest, finding its expression in the social good or progress of all, which amounts to Sathyagraha. He approached the issue of social development basically from the point of the individual. To him, the moral regeneration and spiritual growth of the individual is be-all and end-all of all social and political thinking and practice.

The greatest good of all is thus attained when both individual and society express satya and non-violence and this is possible only in a stateless democracy, having a self-regulated life brought about through fearless self-control, social service, and the possession of

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4. *Harijan*, 7–1–1939.

proper economic attitude, that is, non-possession and bread-labour. To Gandhiji, good life consists in the complete rational exercise of one's powers having no attachments, no repulsion, no fear and with the feeling of unity in diversity, with boundless love and constant action.

A society based on such ideals not only suggests their attainment of one's best self but will bring about perfect equality, which will pervade every sphere of social life.

Concept of Decentralization

Gandhiji held that decentralization was the *sine qua non* to evolve a society along non-violent means. Decentralization in political and economic matters is necessary so that the common man can take enlightened interest in these affairs. With this in view he pleaded for the propogation of *Khadi* and cottage and village industries as a part of his constructive programme. He also thought of village panchayats with wide powers and authority so as to enable them to function as units of self-government. Any economic revolution must begin with the rural areas, for India is predominantly a land of villages. And Gandhiji was realistic enough to recommend the development of village and cottage industries. Therefore, "Decentralization in industry and devolution of power in politics are the only means by which humanity can hope to establish a social order based upon equality and justice and free from economic and political exploitation."[5]

The national government in line with Gandhiji's preaching has revitalized the village panchayats by giving them a good deal of powers. The place assigned to cottage and village industries in various Plans, demonstrates the sincerity of the efforts of the government to carry out the teaching of Gandhiji. Nevertheless, one feels there is need for more vigorous action in this sphere and much scope is there for further improvement and progress.

Gandhi and World Peace

Gandhiji held that the preservation of world peace involved the recognition of the equal right of all the peoples in the world, without any discrimination as to race, colour, religion etc. The people of one nation must enjoy the same freedom as every other nation in the world. The adoption of non-violence in the solution of any outstanding disputes between nations is postulated by Gandhiji.

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5. J. B. Kripalani:, *Gandhian Thought*, P. 167.

World peace and international understanding could only be further-ed by mutual tolerance, respect for each other's territorial sovereignty and freedom of action. A sense of brotherhood and a feeling of oneness is necessary for peaceful co-existence among nations.

Gandhiji fervently wished as early as 1940 that the national government should adopt non-violence "to the utmost extent possible in its foreign policy and he affirmed his conviction that such a non-violent policy would be India's great contribution to the peace of the world and the establishment of a new world order. The Panch Sheel enunciated by Jawaharlal Nehru was the clearest application of Gandhi's non-violence. Non-aggression, mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence are nothing but the elaboration of the Mahtma's ideals of non-violence in peace and war. Gandhiji's ideas have contributed richly to the culture and civilization of the world as also to the maintenance of peace and harmony among the nation's of the world.

Gandhian Politics and its Relevance

Gandhian politics were essentially politics of commitment or dedication. In the post-independence period in India, politics of opportunism seem to dominate.

With the advent of Gandhiji on the Indian Political horizon in the early part of this century "started a slow but momentous reaction against the West and European culture in general on a massive scale"[6]. This only meant that under his dynamic leadership India carried out a full retreat from Westernization. The secret of Gandhi's power was precisely the fact that he represented the wishes of the over-whelming masses in the country.

Mahatma Gandhi's contribution to India's freedom struggle is universally recognized and acknowledged. He converted the nationalist struggle into a revolutionary mass struggle. He organized and disciplined it and provided it with a method and plan of effective action. He endowed it with an urge for social justice, with passion for equality and tolerance and made the people conscious of the plight of the 'untouchables' and other underprivileged sections of the community. He had a broadbased movement which had in its fold all the important classes of the country.

Gandhiji, was a man of action who employed every means to weaken foreign domination. In his anxiety to rouse national feel-ings of the people he opposed many western ideas and schemes.

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1. Amaury de Riencourt, *The Soul of India*, P–313.

Thus we find Gandhiji trying to oppose indiscriminate large scale industrialization, state planning, birth control, western system of education, foreign goods, prohibition etc. As a shrewd politician he was trying to capture the imagination of the masses by whipping up swadeshi spirit. He succeeded to a great extent in mobilizing public opinion against British rule. But to what extent his alternate proposals are workable and promote the real good of the country? Gandhian politics were essentially obstructionist in nature. Some learned observers like Pannikar[7] hold the view that Gandhi's teaching have little influence on India's policy. We no longer hear of Ahimsa or non-violence—a principle to which he attached fundamental importance. On the contrary, India is straining every nerve to arm herself to the teeth. Not even during Gandhiji's lifetime did the Congress leaders in India accept the doctrine of non-violence in regard to defence. Aggressive intentions of Pakistan and disappearance of Tibet as a buffer zone and Chineese attack in 1962 and the Indo-Pak war of 1965 have made it an imperative necessity for being vigilant. Therefore, under the prevailing set of circumstances it has become difficult to practise Ahimsa especially when the defence of the country is involved.

If Satyagraha, as Gandhiji viewed it, has disappeared from the political scene, fasting as a political weapon, which also was one of the Gandhian teachniques, today stands totally dis-credited. The Mahatma resorted to this weapon only when he considered moral issues were at stake. But fasting by political leaders in the post-independence period has been mainly to secure some political point which had no moral issues behind it. The latest instances of political fasting, Darshan Singh Pheruman's fast unto death to get the government of India to accept the demand to include Chandigarh in Punjab and Uday Singh Mann's counterfast to ensure that Darshan Singh Pheruman did not succeed in his object, reduced the whole method to an absurdity and has the result of discrediting fasts and hunger-strikes as political weapons.

Another element of Gandhian thought was his total distrust of state action. To him state was an instrument of coercion. He believed in the dictum that government as the best which governed the least. He did not want any interference in individual's liberties because he was an Individualist to the core. In this sphere also he has not influenced Indian thinking. The major fact of India's development after independence is the growth of State functions in all directions because the modern state is indeed a 'Welfare State'.

Prohibition was an idea very dear to the Mahatma's heart. To-

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7. *The Foundations of New India.* 1963.

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day it is being progressively given up in many States. Thus another Gandhian ideal has come under eclipse.

Even his concept of happiness does not hold good in India today. Gandhiji advocated a type of society in which an individual was supposed to be happy if his desires were limited. He felt that fewer the needs the better and happier the people in the society. In this age of science and technology with the urge for rapid material advancement as the driving force Gandhian concept belongs to a different epoch.

Mahatma Gandhi never claimed eternal validity for his ideas. We cannot accept all the Gandhian ideals. Revision of Gandhism is inevitable. He was a great humanist, and as such he is respected by posterity.

Some critics of Gandhiji hold that the kind of society he envisaged, the kind of values he cherished, made him a magnificent failure. Take for instance his constant emphasis on non-violence. Even in his times there was widespread violence throughout the country— Naokhali, Partition, etc. It is, therefore, said that even in his own time he was superficially relevant. It is contended that mere preaching of non-violence does not bring revolution. Some economists argue that the rate of industrialization proceeded at a faster pace precisely in the Gandhian era.

The central core of Gandhian philosophy rests on his pervasive obsession with the moral individual and with moral values. But in the context of parliamentary democracy in the country where issues are decided on the basis of the wishes of the majority, Gandhian morals may go to the wall. For example, whatever the majority decides need not necessarily be moral in the Gandhian sense. But it is a moot point whether it is proper to blame Gandhian ideals if the people do not measure upto the high moral plane which he visualised. We cannot blame him for our shortcomings.

Conclusion:

Sometimes some writers have compared Gandhi with Marx and Lenin and with early political thinkers like Plato, T. H. Green etc. There are of course some points of resemblance, but basically Marxism and Gandhism differ since the methods of violence and non-violence are mutually incompatible. There are some critics who say that Marxian politics and Marxian techniques have become outdated. Similarly it is held by some critics that Gandhian politics like Plato's concept of philosopher kings remains an ideal. If we examine the current political struggle in the ruling party in India it looks as if Gandhian principles cannot be practised. Everyone would

like to exploit Gandhiji's name and profess to stand for Gandhian ideals. Gandhism has been completely discarded. Shall we then say that Gandhism is only a political philosophy to be preached and not a philosophy to be practised? Like Plato, Gandhi expects high moral conduct and the subordination of the self to the wider interests of the country and community. If our country has not succeeded in practising Gandhian politics we have no right to blame Gandhian ideals and we cannot say that Gandhism has no place in the political process. Gandhism can be implemented if the society rises up to the expectations of Gandhiji and selfless leaders and workers replace the selfish power-seeking politicians.

We have decided to follow parliamentary democracy of the West thus rejecting Gandhism and democracy based upon Gandhian politics. It is no wonder that democratic politics in free India exists in form and not in spirit. It certainly lacks the Gandhian spirit. Hence the country is witnessing so much indiscipline and conflicts in all walks of life. Historically we seemed to have professed high ideals which were seldom practised. Therefore, one is not surprised that there is so much gap in Gandhian theory and practice.

PROBITY IN MYSORE STATE PUBLIC SERVICE

K. V. VISHWANATHAIAH

Probity" means "tried integrity" or "honesty". "Probity in Public Service" means the civil servants must be honest and they should be men of integrity. They should not be susceptible to any kind of corruption. The modern conception of probity in the sense that they should not use their official position to obtain any kind of financial or other advantage for themselves, their families or friends is due to the development of the Rule of Law and the evolution of a large permanent public service. Levy of taxation by law, the control of expenditure and the regulation of conduct of public servants by rules, the breach of which would subject them to penalties including dismissal and prosecution in courts, contributed to the present notion of integrity of public servants. The adoption of certain just principles and its implementation by the Government in matters like recruitment, promotions, retirement benefits and the like further encouraged the growth of the currently accepted standards of probity. It would not be an exaggeration to say here that the Britishers were mainly responsible to develop this kind of a notion of probity in India although there was corruption at lower levels. By and large they were able to lay a firm foundation amongst the civil servants and the public and this notion was accepted by one and all just at that time.

After Independence and partition of the country, planning and other developmental activities and control, corruption gradually increased and spread to almost to all levels. The administrative processes became complicated. A vast administrative field was open to the officers concerned who could act outside the strict scope of law and propriety without the injured citizen being in a position to obtain effective redress. Due to democratisition of administration there was also a phenomenal increase in the number of peddlers of influence. There was general deterioration of morale in Public Service in the whole country. Due to democratisation of administration, the purity of public life also came to be affected. Consequently like in other States, even in the State of Mysore, the administration came to be affected. Owing to control, licensing, rationing, delay and inefficiency in administration, complicated administrative procedure, lack of suitable machinery to receive and to attend to public complaints, raise in the cost of living and inadequate remuneration paid to the public employees, poverty and the like, probity in public service came to be affected.

The Government of Mysore took immediate steps to combat corruption and to maintain probity in the State public service. It adopted the Central Acts like the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947, and the Representation of the People's Act, 1951. It took steps to enforce the relevant provisions of the Indian Penal Code to combat corruption. It simplified the Office Procedure. It took steps to cut down delay by streamlining the whole State Administration. It started a new Department called Department of Efficiency, Audit and Anti-Corruption. It prescribed a rigid new Code of Conduct and the civil servants were asked to adhere to the same very strictly. Even then there was general complaint about the lack of probity in the State public service. However, this state of affairs continued till the States were reorganised in November 1956.

After the new State of Mysore came into existence, the new Government paid immediate attention to tackle this problem. It promulgated the new Mysore Civil Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules, 1957 and also a new Code of Conduct for all the civil servants in the State. The scope of work of the Efficiency and Anti-Corruption Department in respect of disciplinary proceedings against civil servants came to be restricted to that of conducting preliminary confidential investigations and reporting the results to the concerned Disciplinary Authority for conducting regular enquiries. The Mysore Civil Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules, 1957 was amended which authorised the Head of the Department with the duties and powers of a Disciplinary Authority for purposes of conducting enquiries in respect of all Class III and Class IV employees under Government employment and against Class II officers as specified.

The nomenclature of the Department of Efficiency Audit and Anti-Corruption was changed into the Directorate of Efficiency Audit and Anti-Corruption.[1] In reality, the Efficiency Audit Branch never functioned. The Technical Audit Cell was started as a part of the Anti-Corruption Department in July 1959 with a Superintending Engineer, an Accounts Officer, and a small clerical staff. The Anti-Currption Branch was asked to investigate inefficiency and corruption charges that were levelled against both Gazetted and Non-Gazetted Officers. It was empowered to inspect the Offices of the Heads of the Departments provided the Government directed it to do so. The Technical Audit Cell, though attached to the Anti-Corruption Branch, was asked to secure financial control properly in P. W. D. through a system of concurrent and continuous technical audit. It was asked to keep a close watch over the work during its

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1. Vide Government Order No. GAD 70 00M 59 dated September 2, 1959.

execution. Generally, its functions included the following: (i) Inspection during execution to ensure quality of work, adherence to specifications, time-schedule and to prevent deviations in constructions; (ii) percentage check of quality to ensure reasonableness of rates and avoidance of ambiguity of conditions and specifications in the contract; and (iii) tendering advice to the P.W.D. on technical points referred to it. The Technical Audit Cell never attended to these legitimate duties; rather, it engaged itself in investigating corruption and inefficiency charges that were levelled against officers working in the P.W.D. along with the staff of the Anti-Corruption Branch of the Directorate. On April 23, 1960, the nomenclature of the Directorate was changed into "The Directorate of Anti-Corruption and Technical Audit (P.W.D.)".

The Technical Audit Cell of the Directorate received altogether 113 cases between July 1959 and March 1961. It invetstigated all the cases thoroughly and disposed off the same by April Ist, 1961. The Anti-Corruption Branch of the Directorate which functioned both at the State level and at Divisional levels also received complaints regarding corruption, bribery, misappropriation and similar types of misconduct, etc. against both gazetted and non-gazetted officers. It investigated all the cases which it received between 1957 and 1964 and recommended suitable punishments to be awarded to the culprits in such cases. The following tables would give an indication regarding the work turned out by this Branch. (See next page Table No. 1)

Between 1957–58 the percentage of disposal increased by 4 per cent. Between 1958–59 and 1959–60, the percentage of disposal increased by 12.4 per cent. Between 1959–60 and 1960–61, the percentage of disposal increased by 16 per cent. Between 1960–61 and 1961–62, it remained more or less the same. Thus, the percentage of disposal increased in the ratio of 1:3:4. One could notice at the same time a gradual decrease of pending cases upto 1961–62. The percentage of pending cases decreased in the ratio of 1:3:4. One could notice at the same time the increase in the percentage oj disposal in the same ratio. But if the percentage of disposal for the year 1963–64 is compared with the figures for the year 1964–65 the percentage of disposal did show an increase of 5.5 per cent; at the same time, the percentage of pending cases did show a decrease by 5.5 percent.

The Directorate of Anti-Corruption received 20,631 complaints on the whole (with the exception of the figures for the year 1962–63) between 1957–65 and it disposed off 14,409 cases. Out of 14,409 cases it could substantiate only 701 cases involving 876 gazetted and non-gazetted officials. Out of 876 officials, 188 were gazetted

TABLE No. 1

(*Source:* Reports on the Administration of Mysore from 1957–58 to 1961–62)

Complaints regarding corruption bribery, misappropriation and similar types of mis-conduct and number of cases instituted and persons punished (both gazetted and non-gazetted)

Year	Total Number of cases for Disposal	Total Number of cases disposed of	Percentage of disposal	Pending at the end of the year	Total Number of cases instituted as the allegations were substantiated	Number of persons punished
1957—58	2005	982	48.9%	1023(51%)	36	43*
1958—59	2497	1316	52.7%	1181(47.2%)	70	103
1959—60	2894	1886	65.1%	1008(34.6%)	49	49
1960—61	2765	2251	81.4%	514(18.5%)	112	175
1961—62**	1899	1529	80.5%	370(19.4%)	123	195
1962—63	1633	1323	81%	310(18.9%)	117	185
1963—64	4164	3012	72.3%	1152(27.6%)	163	163
1964—65	4407	3422	77.0%	974(22.1%)	148	148
	15732				818	1061

*This refers to old Mysore Region and Bangalore Region. No one was caught and punished in other regions.

**Report on the Administration of Mysore for the year 1961–62 was published by the Government Press, Bangalore in 1968. The Reports for the other years have not been published. As such the figures under these heads for the rest of the yers are not available in published records. Information was collected at source from unpublished records and hence provinsional.

officers and the rest were non-gazetted officers. The punishments inflicted upon gazetted officers and non-gazetted officers have been furnished separately in the tables given in the next page.

It could be seen from Table 2, 188 Gazetted Officers were punished. Out of 188, 4 officers were dismissed; 7 officers were compulsorily retired; 17 officers' pensions were reduced; 5 officers were reduced to a lower grade; 22 officers were ordered to reimburse the pecuniary loss caused to the Government owing to their official negligence of work or otherwise and on the rest, other kinds of minor punishments were imposed. One could also see from that Table that a few gazetted officers were either warned or censured or reprimanded every year; likewise, the increments of a few gazetted officers were also postponed.

688 Non-Gazetted officers were punished. Out of 688, three officers were convicted; 53 officers were dismissed; 8 were removed from the service; 13 were compulsorily retired; 57 officers' ranks were either reduced or they were reverted; 65 officers' pensions were reduced; 129 officers' increments were withheld or postponed; 42 officers were asked to reimburse the pecuniary loss caused to the Government owing to their official negligence of work or otherwise; 7 were fined; II4 officers were censured or warned or reprimanded; and on the rest, other kinds of minor punishments were inflicted as per the Mysore Civil Services C.C.A. Rules, 1957.

The Anti-Corruption Directorate investigated all the complaints and recommended suitable punishments to the culprits which the Government ordered in due course.

With regard to the Trap Cases, the Directorate laid down 3 traps during 1956–57, 21 traps during the year 1957–58, and 19 traps against officers during 1961–62. During 1957–58, out of 21 traps laid against officers, one was a gazetted officer; otherwise in all the above traps, the traps were laid against non-gazetted officers. During the rest of the years, that is, till 1965, no traps were laid against officers. However, out of 43 traps cases it laid, it caught 23 officers, made enquiries and later on it sent the reports to the Government requesting the latter, to take necessary action as per the Mysore Services C.C.A. Rules, 1957 . All these 23 officers were non-gazetted.

During 1959–60, the State Government had sanctioned a special squad for "the Verification of Irrigation Contribution and Water Rate Demand" in Kolar, Mandya and Shimoga Districts for a period of two years.[2] During 1960–61, its jurisdiction was extended to the whole State. This team had to be created by the State Govern-

2.   Vide G. O. No. PWD 3O GIG 59, dated Bangalore, March 31, 1959.

TABLE No. 2

Source: Reports on the Administration of Mysore from 1957 to 1961

Punishment Awarded to Gazetted Officers in Corruption cases, bribery, misappropriation and similar other types of cases

Year	Total No. of private persons convicted	Dismissal	Removal	Suspension	Transfers to distant places as punishment	Compulsory Retirement	Censure or warning	Reduction of pension	Exonerated	Increment postponed	Reversion or Reduced	Fined (a) or pecuniary loss Recovered (b)	Grand Total
1957–58	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	1	—	4
1958–59	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	2	—	1	2	2(b)	11
1959–60	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	2	1	1	—	1(b)	8
1960–61	—	2	—	—	—	4	11	5	5	8	—	7(b)	42
1961–62	1	1	—	—	—	1	16	8	9	7	—	3(b)	46
1962–63	1	—	—	—	1	—	20	4	8	6	—	3(b)	43
1963–64*	1	—	—	—	—	—	24	—	2+1	3	1	5(b)	37
1964–65*	—	1	—	—	3	—	15	—	2	14	1	4(b)	40
													188

*Information collected at the source from unpublished records.   The figures are provisional.

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TABLE No. 3

Source Reports on the Administration of Mysore from 1957 to 1961.

Punishment Awarded to Non-Gazetted Officers in Corruption cases, **bribery, mis appropriation and similar other types of cases**

Year	Total No. of private persons convicted	Dismissal	Removal	Suspension	Transfers to distant places as punishment	Compulsory Retirement	Censure or warning	Reduction of pension	Exonerated	Increment postponed	Reversion or Reduced	Fined or (a) pecuniary loss Recovered (b)	Grand Total
1957—58	5	5	4	—	—	—	10	—	—	3	8	—	39
1958—59	22	15	2	4	—	3	7	—	—	13	27	3(b)	92
	Out of 22, 3 were Non Gazetted Officers)												
1959—60	—	3	—	—	—	1	13	13	—	8	—	2(a) 1(b) 3	41
1960—61	1	14	—	—	5	3	27	31	20	24	—	2(a) 6(b) 8	135
1961—62	9	11	2	—	—	4	21	19	55	23	—	2(a) 3(b) 5	149
1962—63*	5	10	—	—	13	—	27	28	27	26	—	5(a) 2(b) 7	142
1963—64*	1	5	—	—	8	2	20	2	35+6	31	6	1(a) 10(b) 11	126
1964—65*	2	—	—	—	8	—	15+1	20	20	27	15+1	19(b)	108

*Information collected at the source from unpublished records. The figures are provincional

ment because it had imposed the contribution and water rate as per rules upon the beneficiaries under the irrigation sources in the erstwhile Mysore State—that is, upon the Owners of the land in the nine Districts of the Old Mysore State. The Government could not realise the amount and had not realised the amount. So, after the States were reorganised and when the old Mysore State came to be enlarged and assumed a new name, namely, "The New Mysore State", the Government felt like realising the amount due to it and consequently this Special Team was constituted as per the order cited already and its jurisdiction was extended to the whole State. The Special Team was able to book with the help of the Revenue Department officials Rs. 1,67,88,689.63 p. only by way of demand of water rate and contribution. It also assisted the Revenue Department officials in fully realising the entire amount. It should be mentioned here that even though initially its term was for two years, during 1961 its term was extended until further orders. Only on March 31, 1966, the Government wounded up that Special Team as it completed its work.

Following the recommendations of the Santanam Committee for combating corruption, at the State level the Vigilance Commission was set up in the State of Mysore on the model of the Central Vigilance Commission as per proceedings of the Government of Mysore.[3] Shri Mir Iqbal Hussain was appointed as the Vigilance Commissioner.[4] He assumed the charge on February 22, 1965. The Government issued a Notification[5] promulgating the Mysore State Vigilance Commission Rules, 1965 under Article 309 of the Constitution of India. The powers and functions of the State Vigilance Commission as per the proceedings dayed February II, 1965 and the Notification dated June 10, 1965 are in the main similar. The Directorate of Anti-corruption ceased to work with effect from February 11, 1965.[6]

The Vigilance Commission with a Vigilance Commissioner and a Directorate started functioning in the State from February 22, 1965. 296 cases from the Office of the Divisional Commissioners and 715 cases from the Office of the Director of Anti-Corruption were transferred to the office of the Vigilance Commission. In other words, 1,011 cases were transferred to the Vigilance Commis-

3. Vide G. O. No. GAD 19 OAC 64 dated Bangalore, February II, 1965.
4. Notification No. GAD 19 OAC 64 (C), dated Bangalore, February, 18, 1965.
5. Notification No. GAD 38 SSR 65, dated Bangalore, June 10, 1965.
6. The staff of the Anti-Corruption Directorate was transferred to the State Vigilance Commission's Office with effect from June 26, 1965. The Vigilance Commission was asked to investigate the cases against both gazetted and non-gazetted officers from the vigilance angle throughout the State as per G. O. No. GAD 45 OAC 65, dated Bangalore June 26, 1965.

sion. The State Vigilance Commissioner received altogether 426 complaints about corruption and official misconduct, etc., upto 1–7–1968. These complaints were reported by the Heads of the Departments and the Government from the date of the formation of the Vigilance Commission upto 1–7–1968. The Vigilance Commission disposed off 982 cases. The Government passed orders inflicting punishment in respect of 209 cases after hearing from the Vigilance Commission. 455 cases were pending before the Vigilance Commission as on 1–7–1968.[7]

The State Government have tried its level best to maintain probity in the Mysore State Public Service by subjecting the civil servants to a rigid Code of Discipline and by creating a machinery like the Vigilance Commission. However, the present arrangement is far from satisfactory. The public is not at all satisfied with the present arrangement as there is political corruption and even corruption in the rank and file of the State Civil Service. Though the Government has tried to maintain a high standard demanding that its servants shall not only be honest in fact but beyond the reach of suspicion of dishonesty, that kind of "Caesar's wife standard" is not there. This kind of a high standard is of great importance in maintaining the reputation of the Service on which so much of State Government depends. By way of remedy it could be suggested here that there should a Vigilance Cell to enquire into the public complaints in every Government Office though it is going to be costly. The Public should be discouraged in approaching the officials to get favours or to get their work done. A rigid Code of Discipline should be applied even to popular ministers and the legislators. The peddlers of influence should not be encouraged. The Mysore Civil Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules should be suitably amended along with the relevant provisions of the Indian Constitution so as to facilitate the State Government to take immediate action on corrupt officials or officials of doubtful integrity. In addition, two more steps should be taken namely, (i) the elimination of the financial dependence of the political parties on business and (ii) the evolution of a method of investigation of "prima facie" allegations against those in power, however high. Perhaps, if these steps are taken it may be possible for the State Government to maintain "Caesar's wife standard of probity" in the Mysore State Public Service.

7. *The Mysore Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Reports of the Proceedings of the Sixteenth Day of the Fourth Session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly 19th September.* 1968. *Vol. XIV–No.* 6. (The Government Press, Bangalore, 1968), pp. 376–377. (The State Government refused to disclose the names of officials and the nature of allegations being enquired into in such cases. It also refused to give further details.).

ROLE OF THE MAHĀJANAS IN THE HISTORY
OF MEDIAEVAL KARNĀṬAKA

G. R. KUPPUSWAMY

1. Introduction

Of the various local authorities intimately connected with the village economy in the History of South-India in general and Mediaeval Karnāṭak in particular, the *Mahājanas* occupied a place of primary importance. The purpose of this paper is to present a bird's eye-view of their powers and functions in the History of Karnāṭaka. A similar work has been done by Appadorai[1] for Tamilnāḍ.

2. Terminology, Composition etc.

The term *Mahājana* or *Mahājanaru*, appearing in the various Kannada inscriptions, can be treated as synonymous to Tamil *Sabha*, *Mahāsabha*, *Brahmasabha*, *Perungurimakkaḷ*, *Kurri*, *Kuṭṭaṁ*, *Kūṭ ṭappammakkaḷ*, *Nāṭṭār*. *Ūrār*, *Ūrōm*, *Nagarattār* and *Nagarattōṁ* which generally carried out administratio ni nTamilnāḍ through-different committees.[2]

While it would not be correct to describe Karnāṭaka in Mediaeval times, which occupied considerable part of western India and also South India, as mostly consisting of non-*Brāhmin* and unorthodox communities,[3] but of *Agrahāras* and orthodox communities as well, it cannot be asserted with certainty that the committee system of administration prevailed in them in all its fullness, though confined to orthodox communities. While in the areas of Kolar, Mysore and Bangalore Districts, evidently under Chōḷa influence, the committee system of administratism did prevail, only a surmise could be made regarding the other regions. Wherever *Agrahāras* consisting of 50, 100 and smaller number of *Mahājanas* are mentioned, they indicate committees or inner cabinets only rather than assemblies, and the larger numbers like 500, 1000 may stand for ordinary or general assemblies.

While the term *Mahājana* may be open to wide interpretation[4] and the members of the assembly found in *Brahmadēya* and non-*Brahmadēya* villages might belong to any or all communities in Karnāṭaka, the personnel of the committees in the joint-tenure *Agrahāra*[5] villages, could not but belong to one particular community, namely the *Brāhmin* community. For another reason, the *Mahājanas* or at least the personnel of the various committees, were expected to be highly qualified, orthodox and learned in *Smritis*,

which in those days, so to say, was a possession of *Brāhmins*, not easily open to other communities.

There was no uniform principle followed regarding the numbers. The strength of the assembly varied from village to village or *Agrahāra* to *Agrahāra*. It was as low as 12 and as high as 32 thousand and mostly in multiple of 100 upto 1300, 500 being the most popular oft-quoted number. In addition, there were *Agrahāras* with assemblies composed of odd numbers of members such as 12, 30, 36, 42, 50, 52, 56, 60, 62, 64, 84, 104, 120, 122, 128, 140, and 172. In some instances the number is not mentioned. While assemblies with 32000 are unthinkable, unless it is taken in the sense of assembly of all men, women and children, it is quite whithin the realm of practical wisdom to think of assemblies of 1000, say of adult citizens.[6] It is quite possible that as mentioned earlier while assemblies with very large numbers were merely assemblies of people either to confirm a grant or receive one, those with smaller numbers carried out functions of an executive nature, which the different committees in Tamilnādu carried out. However at this stage, it would be premature to conclude that in each village there were both the types namely the assemblies and committees. While it may not be possible to affirm that a well-developed committee system existed in Karnātaka, it cannot be doubted that some of the assemblies carried out functions of a spe-cialised nature. One or two examples may be given to illustrate the above points. The 30 of Sōgul, according to an inscription of 980, belonging to Chālukya Tailapa II, are said to have measured out land by a road of 46 spans, which evidently was a job of technical nature.[7] Again, the 50 *Mahājanas* of Bālguḷi according to another inscription, who having assembled in the temple settled to collect grains and salts at the rate of 2 *baḷḷas* out of the quantity with *ponnu* in each kind and invested 103 *gadānas* raalised from the sale of collec-tions, to conduct a feeding-house for 4 persons everyday.[8]

3. Role of Mahājanas

The *Mahājanas* exercised administrative control over the village in all matters concerning the conservation of rural resources.[9] Some of the functions performed by them may be considered.

a. Land Sale

Land sale, gift or care, surveys and measurement constituted an important function. It is stated in one of the inscriptions from Sōgul that the *Mahājanas* of the place measured out land by the rod of 46 spans.[10] In another instance the *Mahājanas* of Sūṇḍi were asked to take proper care of 114 *mattars* of land, leased out to

them.[11]   There are also instances of sale effected, say, by the *Mahā-janas* of Chinchile,[12] gift of village to *Mahājanas* of Nirli for temple worship and so on.[13]

b. Tolls and Contributions

The *Mahājanas* managed the customs and tolls donated by the communities and officers.   Sometimes they made requests to the King for confirmation of tolls as in the case of the *Mahājanas* of Bālguḷi[14] or received as outright grants[15] of toll-revenues from the Revenue officer for which regulations were laid down either by them or by officers themselves as in the case of 30 of Pottiyūr.[16]   Some-times, fines were collected as in the case of Koḍaganūr *Mahājanas*[17] who are required to receive fines and penalties up to 12 *gadyāṇas*. The Chōḷa inscriptions give a very detailed account of transactions of this type undertaken by *Mahājanas*.   For instance, the *Mahā-janas* of Mālūr are stated to have received from one Kirāmavittan, purchase-money and tax-money in full, made over the land to him who made the gift of the same to the priest of Kailāsa Woḍeyar temple.   The *Mahājanas*, besides allowing the priest to grow any crops, bound themselves to pay whatever taxes, due to Government.[18]

c. Protection

The *Mahājanas* gave protection to various interests against harm done to them by the others.   Thus for instance, the *Mahājanas* of Ayyāvoḷe (i.e. 500 *Svāmis*) came to the protection of trading interest. When one of the merchants Mahānāgaseṭṭi was murdered on the eastern road, they conferred on the rescuer Rēvaṇṇa the title of *Pageya benkoḷva*.   He was made free from payment of taxes if he brought any articles from outside.[19]   There are innumerable instances of *Mahājanas* of different villages coming to the rescue of people who were helpless victims of aggression by unsocial elements.

d. Bankers

The *Mahājanas* acted as Bankers in so far as they received deposits of gift-money and utiliseed the interest for purposes as specified by the investors.   Thus the 50 *Mahājanas* of Bālguḷi village invested about 103 *gadyāṇas*, being the sale-proceeds of grains, and salts, collected as contribution and maintained a feeding-house for 4 persons out of the interest on the amount.[20]   The *Mahājanas* some-times received huge amounts, as for instance the *Mahājanas* of Ayya-Veḍuka who received a gift of 2300 *gadyāṇas*.[21]

e.   Donors

The *Mahājanas* donated to the temples[22] lands house-sites, oil mills and etc and also to individuals for acts of bravery[23] or for undertaking some constructive works. Sometimes tolls[24] were granted besides shops.[25] Sometimes they commanded individuals to make donations, as in the case of Bhaṇṭa 1000 of Tiḷvaḷḷi, who granted 1 *paṇa* each annually for stone embankment[26] The grant of *Mahājanas* also extended to provide facilities for *Mahājanas* coming from outside[27] or for feeding of ascetics.[28]

f.   Executive Works

The *Mahājanas* undertook work of executive nature. The *Mahājanas* of Daivada Maṇṭūr participated in the construction of Raṭṭasamudra, a tank of the place.[29]   In another instance, the *Mahājanas* of Nirli were entrusted with the work of maintaining Piriyakere, a great tank.[30]

g.   Miscellaneous

The *Mahājanas* performed a number of odd jobs such as acting as trustees[31] or witnesses.   Land-grants,[32] toll-revenues[33] and cesses[34] were made through them.   Sometimes they made temple appointments. An inscription from Bellary district speaks of the 200 *Mahājanas* who are always to appoint celibates as the heads of the temples and drive out married persons, even of appointed.[35] Their permission was required for doing any kind of work connected with the village.[36] Besides confirming grants made, they exempted payment of taxes or made tax-free grants.[37]   In one instance the *Mahājanas* of Periya Maḷavūr granted permission to the *pūjāris* to levy shop-taxes.[38] Sometimes the king himself notified to the *Mahājanas* his desire to carry out certain things as in the case of those of Muruḍūr[39]   The *Mahājanas* settled disputes[40] and entered into agreements.   We have the instance of the *Mahājanas* of Laxminarasinhapura who entered into an agreement permitting certain persons to build tanks in the places assigned and carry on cultivation out of the proceeds of taxes.[41] The *Mahājanas* induced the members of Royal family to make grants for various public purposes by petitioning and etc.   Thus it was at the request of the *Mahāianas* of Māyile that Padmaldēvi made grants for the service of God there.[42]   The *Mahājanas* played their part as *madhyastas* in bringing about a proper distribution of land or produced[43]   It was at the instance of the *Mahājanas* of Bannūr and Pērggaḍe Lōkanāthayya that the breach of the tank at the place was repaired.[44] It is of interest to note that the expenditure was met out of funds acruing from the fixed source of revenue of the village Baṇṇiyūr for 2

years. Further provision was made for the future by grant of 2 *mattars* of land and grant of custom-dues on merchandise. There is a instance of the *Mahājanas* applying and Tribhuvanmalla Pāṇḍya making grants of land and remission of certain fines and taxes for the cart belonging to the tank.[45] The *Mahājanas* also played their part in sharing of the produce or land between *Brāhmins* and in some cases brought about redistribution.

4. Conclusion

The *Mahājanas*, therefore, carried out a number of a functions which helped the rural economy to flourish. They can be summarised as below:—

    i. Remission of taxes, tolls etc
    ii. Sale, purchase or gift of lands
    iii. Maintenance of law and order
    iv. Constructive activities
    v. Overall control over the making of gifts and donations
    vi. Liberal donations on their own account
    vii. Redressal of grievances
    viii. Receipt of deposits and proper maintenanace of services in the temples
    ix. Settlement of disputes, regularisation of land transactions
    x. Formulation of agreements
    xi. Trustees.

FOOT NOTES

1. See Appadorai, A., *Economic conditions of Southern India*, Vol-I, Madras 1936. pp 138–39, pp 151–52.

2. See *Ibid*, pp 138–39 for details.

3. See *Ibid* pp 153 for the view of Altekar that in Western Indian Communities which consisted mostly of non-*brahmins and* which were proverbially unorthodox, the village council must have been a Cosmopolitan body. He further says "In this connection, the communities present a striking contrast with orthodox community of a south; for there no one could become a member of the council who did not know *mantra* and *Brahmin* orthodoxy, was never rampant in Western India as in the South; hence this difference".

4. See Kundangar K. G., *Inscriptions in Northern Karnataka and Kolhapur*, pp. 27.

5. In view of the discovery of inscriptions relating to establishment of *Agraharas* for and by other communities it is an open question whether the accepted meaning attached to the word is correct or needs re-thinking.

6. It is quite likely that these were merely conventional numbers even as in the case of numerical appellations to territorial divisions.

7. *EI*, XVI. No. 11 pp 1 to 9.

8. *SII*, IX (i) No. 89 p. 59; for similar instances see *Ibid* No. 173 pp. 167 ff.; No. 192 pp 186–7; No. 258, p 224; No. 76 pp 46–47; *EI* XVI No. 11E pp 75–81; *SII* XI (ii) No. 147 pp 178; *Ibid* No. 170 pp 164–5.

9. See *KI*, I p. xx for R. S. Panchamukhi's remark.

10. *EI, XVI* No. 11 pp 1 to 9.

11. *EI, XV* 6 c p 75–77.

12. *SII* XI (i) No. 108 p 155–6; for similar instances see *KI* IV No. 33 pp 73–75; *SII* XX No. 57 pp 70–71; *SII* XI (ii) No. 136 pp 161 £; *Ibid* No. 147; p 178; *SII* XX No. 81 pp 101–2.

13. *EI* XVI, No. 10 B pp 68–73; *SII* IX (i) No. 207 pp 208–10.

14. *SII*, IX (i) No. 76 pp 46–47.

15. *SII* XI (i), No. 96 pp 91 for similar instances see *SII*, XX, No. 131, p 169; *SII* IX (i) No. 173, p. 167–68.

16. *EI*, XI No. 11 B.P. 75–81.

17. *EC*, XI DG No. 153 p 79 (trans), p. 204 (text).

18. *EC*, IX cp No. 88 C, P. 152 Appadorai has made a detailed study of the question of payment of taxes and remission. While payment of tax was a compulsory obligation the remission of taxes only meant that the party on whom it was levied, could shift it ontto another.

19. *KI*, IV, No. 55 pp. 118–127; For similar instances see *EC* IX Cn No. 89 p 153; *EC* VII (i) SK No. 75 pp 56; *EC* V (ii) Hn No. 0pp 537 (text).

20. *SII* IX (i) No. 89 p 59.

21. *SII*, XI (i) No. 99.

22. *SII*, IX (i) No. 95 pp. 65.

23. *EC*, IX, Cp No. 154 p 105.

24. *SII*, XI (i) No. 111 pp 107–9; *KI,I*, No. 33 of 1939–40 pp 70 ff, *KI*, II Mo. 9 of 1940–41 pp. 24 ff. *SII*, XI (ii) No. 145 and 176.

25. *AR* 1938–39 1App. E No. 104 0p 219

26. *KI*, II, No. 8 of 1940–41, p. 20 ff.

27. *SII*, XI (i), No. 117, p. 117.

28. *SII*, XV, No. 13, p. 11–12.

29. *SII*, XI (i), No. 74 pp. 64–65.

30. *EI*, XVI No. 10A. p. 66–68; see for similar instances *SII*, XI (kii), No. 170 p 164 ff; *SII*, XI (ii) No. 173 p 222; *EC* S No. 154 pp. 35.

31. See Dikshit G. S.; *Local self-Government in -Mediaeval Karnatak*, Dharwar, 1964 p 83.

32. *SII* IX (i) No. 93 p 63.

33. *SII*, IX (i) No. 192, pp 186–87.

34. *SII*, XV, No. 49 pp 65–66.

35. *SII*, IX (i), No. 192 p 186–7; *Ibid* 191 pp 185–6.

36. *SII*, XX, No. 75 p. 91–92.

37. *EC*, VIII (i), SK No. 50p. 5 (Trans.) p 155.

38. *EC*, IX, Cp. p. 183 (text) p 147 (trans.)

39. *EC* III Md. P. 37 (trans).

40. *EC*, V (ii) ASK No. 9 p 400.

41. *MAR* 1931, No. 59 E (SK) p 168.

42. *SII*, IX (i) No. 185 p.189–90.

43. *EC*, V (kii) Ch. No. 170 p. 600 (Text), (i) 190 Trans.)

44. *MAR* 1930, No. 76.

45. *EC*, XI, DG, No. 139 p. 77 (Trans.), p. 194 (Text).

HOUSING NEEDS AND FIVE YEAR PLANS

K. M. GOUDAR

1. Introduction

1.1 Housing is one of the fundamental needs of mankind. The facility of proper housing serves not only the purpose of shelter, but also it does have profound influence on the people's health and development of character. Housing has been a problem ever since the dawn of history of mankind and it remains as a problem because of population growth which, in a smaller or greater percentage, does prevail. Therefore, it is the duty of the Government to look into the needs of housing and expedite the problem satisfactorily. Otherwise, the problem of housing becomes a major cause for several socio-economic evils.

1.2 In the light of the past history since Independence one can observe that the need for proper housing facilities, both in urban and rural areas, has been ever increasing and today it has become a very serious problem of urban life in our country. This has become a colossal problem mainly because of rapid industrialisation which has resulted in turn in a significant migration from rural areas to urban areas. We do not mean to say that the housing facilities are completely unsatisfactory in our country. But rather, we intend to stress upon the point that the facilities available are too inadequate to accommodate properly the people of urban areas. Besides, even the existing facilities are of very poor standard. As a consequence, we find today so many social evils such as crime, juvenile delinquency, broken homes, prostitution and so on. These, in turn lead to several economic ills. The Government, therefore, has to think seriously about this problem, it has to adopt all possible and necessary measures to combat the social problem.

1.3 Housing is not an attractive industry for industrialists. Therefore, the private sector does not come forward to construct houses and feed the needs of the people. In the interest of the welfare of the society, the government has to take not only the initiative but also the fuller responsibility of providing satisfactory housing facilities to the people. In this direction, no doubt, the government has taken positive steps through the enactment of different industrial laws. It has become obligatory on the part of the industrialists to provide accommodation for the working class. The government has also encouraged the housing co-operatives. Yet housing is still a problem in our country. It may be contended that housing has not been accorded a proper place in the order of priority in our

Five Year Plans. As the government strives to establish a welfare state it is but pertinent to say that the government should give priority to the fulfilment of housing needs in the Five Year Plans. This article deals with the provision of housing in the Five Year Plans and the extent of housing needs since the inception of the Five Year Plans in our country.

2. Magnitude of Housing Shortage

2.1 The problem of housing is keenly felt both in urban as well as rural areas. No doubt the government has adopted certain schemes but it has not been able to meet the housing requirements of our country. Our housing problems are not only of quantity but of quality also.

2.2 During the First Five Year Plan under two urban housing schemes, that is, subsidized industrial housing scheme and low income housing group schemes the government had envisaged an expenditure of Rs. 38.5 crores for the construction of 1,20,000 dwelling units. And besides, under other schemes both of Central and State governments the provision was made for 7,42,000 houses or tenements. During the Second Five Year Plan the government had envisaged Rs. 84 crores for all public housing schemes under which 5,00,000 houses were constructed. During the Third Five Year Plan, the government had envisaged Rs. 142 Crores for the Construction of 9,00,000 houses. It was also estimated that under private sector nearly 22,00,000 houses might come up.

2.3 Coming to urban housing proper, the following table depicts the development of houses in urban areas in India under different schemes.

TABLE 1

Number of tenements likely to be built by 1968—1969

Sl. No.	Scheme	Year of introduction	Tenements likely to be built by 1968–1969
1.	Subsidised housing schemes	—	2,85,000
2.	Subsidised housing schemes for industrial workers and economically weaker sections	1952	1,70,000
3.	Slum clearance and improvement	1956	1,15,000
4.	Loan Schemes	—	1,55,000
5.	Low income group	1954	1,20,000
6.	Middle income group	1959 }	35,000
7.	Rental housing schemes for State employees	1959 }	
8.	Total schemes	—	4,40,000

Source: Fouth Five Year Plan draft 1968—1969.

From this table, it is clear that the tenements likely to be built by the end of 1968–69, under all schemes of urban housing are only 4,40,000. But this development has not at all met the urban housing needs. The shortage in urban areas was estimated at about 2.5 million in 1951. It rose to 5 million houses in 1961 and to 7.5 million houses in 1966. The shortage is likely to rise up to 10 million houses by 1970. The deficit position of houses in urban areas can also be visualised by studying the housing needs and the housing facilities in selected cities of the country. Such a study reveals that by 1961 the percentage of deficit to number of houses in Calcutta was 58 percent, Bombay 55 percent, Hyderabad 73 percent, Bangalore 136 percent, Lucknow 125 percent etc., By this time the deficit position may have still worsened due to greater concentration of industries and migration of the people to the cities.

2.4 Coming to rural housing we find that the problem is very vast. No doubt the assistance for rural housing is provided in the housing sector and also in the scheme for welfare of backward classes. Although the village housing projects scheme was introduced in 1957, the scheme has not made much progress. The study of the working of this scheme points out that the States have given low priority and have not provided adequate finance in the annual plans. Besides this, there is proper administration and even we find that there was quite often absence of administration of the scheme. As a consequence of it, there was lack of proper quantitative as well as qualitative development of houses in rural areas. By 1966 it was estimated that Pukka houses in rural areas formed less than 2 percent and the Kuchcha houses formed only 7 percent in India's villages. Others were just huts, hovels, or shacks which hardly deserved the term house. Although we take it for granted that there is some improvement in India's rural housing since 1963, it is certain that the percentage has not increased more than 15 percent.

3. Causes for Housing Shortage

3.1 The Principal cause for urban housing shortage is that the government has not properly coordinated the housing schemes with that of urbanization and population growth. Visualising urbanization in India, we find that in 1901 India's urban population was about 10 percent of its total population, but the percentage increased to 17.3 percent in 1961 at the annual compound rate of 1.8 percent only. After 1961 the percentage has still increased and now it forms about 30 percent at an annual compound rate of more than two percent. In our country, there is concentrated urbanization, mainly in big cities, but however, we find from Table–2 that there has been a

considerable urbanization due to industrialisation in other cities also. We find from this table that the correlation coefficient between urbanisation has been 0.4818 in towns and cities with population of 50,000 and above, 0.6094 in towns and cities with population of 20,000 and above, and 0.6053 in towns and cities with population of 10,000 and above. The correlation coefficient for all urban areas is 0.5825.

TABLE 2

Correlation co-efficient between urbanisation and industrialisation among the States of India

1.	All urban areas	0.5825
2.	Towns and cities with population size 100,000 and above,	0.3736
3.	Towns and cities with population size 50,000 and above	0.4818
4.	Towns and cities with population size 20,000 and above	0.6094
5.	Towns and cities with population size 10,000 and above	0.6053
6.	Towns and cities with population size between 20,000 and 50,000	0.7302

Source: Article "Urbanisation, industrialisation and planning for regional development by—Debkumar Bose, published in Economic and Political Weekly, Journal July 1969 issue page No. 1171.

3.2 Similarly in our country the population growth has been significant. At present India's population is about 550 millions. The growth rate in the first decade of planning was 3.5 percent. Although it has declined in the second decade to 2.5 percent. it has contributed considerably to the India's population. Because of these growth rates, the urbanisation and population growth have outried the housing facilities in India.

3.3 Simultaneously the government has not put in efforts to increase housing facilities. The allocation of outlay for housing in Five Year Plans has been insufficient. Though the percentage share of social sector outlay in total public sector outlay is significant, the allocation to housing in social sector outlay is far from satisfactory. The allocation to housing forms 9.2 percent in first plan, 12.7 percent in second plan and only 7.7 percent in third plan. But greater emphasis is being given for education, health and social welfare. In fact, the facility of proper housing reduces the expenditure on health and social welfare activities. Therefore, what was necessary is a portion of amount allocated to health and social welfare ought to have been

diverted to housing. This is what is done in Pakistan and China which have been able to reduce the housing problem more than what we have done in our country.

3.4 The above explanation can be justified by the following table.

TABLE 3

Distribution of outlay on social sector in Public Sector: India Pakistan and China

Country/ period	Percentage share of social sector outlay in total public sector outlay	As percentage share of public sector outlay on social sector.				
		Education	Health	Housing	Social Welfare	All Social Sector
A. India						
I Plan P	22.6	30.7	26.3	9.2	33.8	100.0
II Plan P	19.7	32.5	29.0	12.7	25.8	100.0
III Plan A	16.5	47.2	25.1	7.7	20.0	100.0
B. Pakistan						
I Plan A	17.9	22.0	7.9	69.1	1.0	100.0
II Plan A	21.9	29.9	13.1	54.6	2.4	100.0
III Plan P	20.0	38.3	18.9	40.0	2.8	100.0
C. Cina						
I Plan A	15.2	45.5	17.2	25.7	11.6	100.0

Source: Article "Development of human resources " by P. C. Verma published in the Economic Times Daily newspaper dated October 12th 1969.

3.5 Besides, the government provides assistance only for the full construction of houses, but no assistance is provided for the development of plots. This has also acted as a cause for slow growth of housing in our country. Another reason for bad housing conditions in our country is ineffectiveness in the implementation of town planning by the authorities of so many towns and cities. Although there are houses in large number in cities and towns, other good housing conditions like slum clearance, sanitation, water supply and so on have not been properly looked into. As a conequence of it, even these well-built houses have not been worth living. Such conditions we find in Bombay, Calcutta and in so many big towns and cities.

4. Fourth Five Year Plan and Provision for Housing

4.1 It is pertinent to analyse the provisions of the Fourth Five Year Plan with such a bad state of housing in our country. No

doubt we have committed a mistake in providing less finance to this important social sector which, if considered, would have provided a healthy and sound society. Once we understand that we have committed a mistake in the past it is proper on our part to discontinue the mistaken policy. But we have not done so. This will be clear when we analyse the Fourth Five Year Plan outlay. The analysis points out that, the past trends in policy have been continued and the provision for housing forms a meager amount in the total outlay of public sector. Taking the outlay for social services provided for under the Fourth Five Year Plan and after analysing it we find that the amount allocated for housing in urban development is only 171 crores out of 2391 crores of outlay for social services. In other words, provision for housing and urban development forms 7 percent of outlay for social service. Greater outlay has been allocated to education, health and family planning, social welfare which form 39 percent, 31 percent, 23 percent respectively. This fact is clear from the below table:

TABLE 4

Public Sector outlay for Social services under Fourth Five Year Plan.

Sl. No.	Head of Development	Outlay (Crores)	Percentage distribution of Social service outlay
1.	Education and Scientific Research	936	39%
2.	Health and Family Planning	737	31%
3.	Housing and urban development	177	7%
4.	Social Welfare	547	23%

Source: Extract from Fourth Five Year Plan draft.

4.2 We do not question the amount allocated to education and scientific research as it is the primary need for socio-economic development. But the point is the allocation to health and social welfare have been made somewhat underestimating the importance of housing and urban development. One of the main reasons as to why the government has allocated a meagre amount for housing and urban development is that the government has been optimistic enough in forecasting private sector investment for housing and urban development. It has been forecasted that the private sector will invest Rs. 2680 crores during Fouth Plan for housing which forms 26.8 percent of its total investment during the same period. Looking to the precarious conditions prevailing in our country as far as housing is

concerned, the government should re-think over the matter and revise the plan so as to allocate more outlay for housing and under development.

4.3 When we visualise the states plans we find that even there also the housing is not given its proper place. That is why, Department of Works, Housing and Urban Development has suggested higher allocation for housing and development in the States annual plan for 1970–1971.

4.4 Thus we find that the structural policies for social services as far as plan provisions are concerned has not been changed while drafting the Fouth Five Year Plan. We cannot therefore, anticipate that the things will improve in the coming years. Rather it is quite possible that the housing problem will become worse in future.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Housing has been a colossal problem in our country. When we observe developments in foreign countries like U.K., U.S.A., West Germany etc., we find that housing co-operatives and corporations with State's subsidies have done an excellent job in mitigating the housing problem. The master Plans have been implemented intensively. Though we have housing co-operatives, masterplans, various project Schemes and though the government provides assistance for housing, the progress is far from satisfactory. Therefore, to improve the housing conditions and to facilitate housing needs what is essential is that there should be effective implementation of the Schemes as well as the maximun use of investment already made. Besides, there should be proper integration of different approaches to housing problem with the States annual plans. Above all a bigger outlay should be provided for housing in these plans. Then only, the present housing problem can be met to a considerable extent. Concerning the goals and aspirations of the housing programme, former U.S., President Johnson said:

"Let us be clear about the core of this problem. The problem is people and the quality of the lives they lead. We want to build not just housing units but neighbourhoods; not just to construct Schools but to educate children; not just to raise income but to create beauty and to end the poisoning of our environment."

7

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AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA DURING THE PLAN PERIOD (1950–51 to 1967–68)

T. K. METI

The importance of agriculture is vivid when agricultural income contributes 41.6 per cent to national income, being the highest share among different sources of the national income. The proportion of the income from agriculture appears to be declining from plan to plan due to the emergence of other economic activities serving as sources of increasing income which is natural in the process of economic development. However, agricultural economy of India has not lagged behind any other branch of the economy so far as contribution of individual activities is concerned. Table I is cited as evidence.

TABLE 1

Net National Product by Industry of Origin—percentage distribution
(at 1948–49 prices)

	Industry groups	1950–51	1955–56	1960–61	1965–66	1967–68
1.	Agriculture, animal husbandry and ancillary activities	49.0	47.9	46.4	39.0	41.6
2	Mining, manufacturing and small enterprises	16.7	16.8	16.6	18.3	16.7
3	Commerce, transport & communication	18.8	18.8	19.2	20.1	19.2
4	Other services	15.7	16.5	18.2	23.4	23.8
5	Net factor income from abroad	—(0.2)	0.0	—(0.4)	—(0.8)	—(1.3)
6	Net National product at factory cost	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Economic Survey, 1969–70, Government of India, p. 63.

Two significant developments are worth observing from the above table. One is regarding the performance of agriculture which was satisfactory till 1964–65 and suddenly fell in 1965–66. The second issue relates to the working of other sectors of the economy which contributed to the national product increasingly right from 1950–51 till 1966–67, became slight sluggish in 1967–68. Bad harvests during 1965–66 caused the decline in the contribution of agriculture to the net national product, whereas recession that occured in 1967–68 brought down the shares of other economic branches in the total

national income. These developments are enough to show that Indian economy including agriculture has been developing since the inception of planning era under normal circumstances. However, the Government of India should not neglect the reliance of agriculture on natural forces like rain and climate. It is very high time that the Indian agriculture should be made increasingly independent of uncertain rainfall. If adequate measures are not ensured, Indian economy is likely to cut a sorry figure in international sphere at any time and would offset all the sincere efforts undertaken till then. For instance, at the end of the Third Five Year Plan the net national product came down mainly due to the reduced share arising from agriculture. The net national product at 1948–49 prices went up from Rs. 8,850 in 1950–51 to Rs. 14,980 crores in 1964–65. But in 1965–66, it fell to Rs. 14,640 cores reducing the index of net national product from 173.2 in 1964–65 to 169.2 in 1965–66 and subsequently index of per capita net national product came down from 126.4 in 1964–65 to 120.8 in 1965–66. The main reason for the decline in net national product is due to the sudden fall in the agricultural income in 1965–66 without any downtrend in the income of other sectors of the economy as is seen in Table I. Even at 1960–61 prices according to the revised series, the net natonal product came down to Rs. 15,045 crores in 1965–66 from Rs. 15,945 crores in 1964–65. The same revised series also show that the share of agriculture fell from 51.3 per cent in 1960–61 to 42.7 per cent in 1965–66 whereas the contribution of industry rose from 20.2 per cent in 1960–61 to 24.2 percent in 1965–66. Similarly, transport and communication contributed more in 1965–66 being 16.5 per cent as against 14.1 per cent in 1960–61, while remaining sectors including services showed increased share in national income being 14.9 per cent in 1960–61 to 17.6 per cent in 1965–66. Whatever may be an accounting method, fact remains the same.

Agricultural Production

The agricultural progress during the concerned plan period can be seen by the help of a rise in productivity per unit of cultivation which is a reaction between acreage and production. The productivity of agriculture increases due to (1) a rise in the acreage brought under cultivation and (2) additional supplementary measures such as improved fertilizers, better seeds, irrigation facilities, subsidies to the farmers etc. As there is a limitation to reclamation of additional land, there is a vast scope for supplementary measures to increase agricultural productivity. Table 2 indicates the details about area, production and yield per hectare right from 1951–52 till 1967–68.

Agricultural production: Area and Yield—Index numbers
[Base 1949–50 to 1951–52 (average) = 100]

Year	Area	Index Number production	Yield per hectare
1951—52	101.8	100.7	98.9
1955—56	113.8	122.2	107.4
1960—61	121.2	142.2	117.5
1964—65	122.7	148.3	120.9
1965—66	122.0	144.3	118.3
1967—68	124.6	153.9	123.5

Source: Economic Survey 1969–70, Government of India, p. 65

It is evident that index number of area has gone up from 101.8 in 1951–52 to 124.6 in 1967–68 accounting for 23 per cent increase in the area brought under the plough. The yield per hectare also has treaded the same path of a rise in average, whereas the rise in production is roughly double the rise either of acreage or of yield. There is as much improvement in production as 54 per cent between 1951–52 and 1967–68. Thus, the performance of agriculture owes to supplementary measures as much as 50 per cent of the rise in agricultural production. It is therefore necessary that more emphasis should be given in future to such policies that focuss attention on improved method of cultivation, better seeds and fertilizers, irrigation facilities, extension services, etc. It is gratifying that recent efforts like high yielding variety programme, area development, minor irrigation schemes, increased credit facilities to the farmers and others have been undertaken by the Government. But what is wanting is sustained pursuit and growth of all these measures and the farmers' response to the development efforts.

The Plan-wise analysis shows that production increased by 22.2 percent, by 20 per cent and by 2 per cent in the First Plan, Second Plan and Third Plan respectively. During the period of later two years (at the end of 1967–68) it increased by 9 per cent. Index number of a rise in acreage shows about 14 per cent increase in the First Plan, 7 per cent increase in the Second Plan and hardly one per cent increase by the end of Third Plan. The rise in acreage by 1967–68 was 2.6 per cent. The corresponding figures of a rise in yield per hectare are 7.4 per cent, 11.5 per cent and –0.5 per cent in First Plan, Second Plan and Third Plan respectively. The rise in yield per hectare picked up its rising trend by 1967–68 when it increased by 5 per cent. These observations point out declining productivity of agriculture when plan-wise performance is studied in isolation. The First Five Year Plan was the best period during which all forces work-

ed in favour of agricultural economy of India. It is understandable during the Second Plan to have a reduced performance of three variables in our view due to less emphasis given to agricultural development in allocating public outlay among all sectors of the economy. In addition, there were relatively less normal harvests in the Second Plan period. The Third Five Year Plan period is, however, a typical one. More outlay was assigned to agriculture in the Third Plan as compared to the Second Plan. Hence, there is no error on the part of priority fixation. But, the nature proved to be angry and subsequently all the development efforts that were resorted to by the Government and people were of less use. However, during the period of Annual Plans, more effective meaures of improving agricultural productivity were started. Besides, natural forces were also quite favourable. In consequence, the performance of area, production and yield has been quite satisfactory. As a matter of fact, total food production by 1967–68 reached a figure of 95 million tons as compared to 72 million tons in 1965–66.

The composition of agricultural production consists of food grains and non-food grains constituting 66.9 per cent and 33.1 percent respectively. Cereals and pulses are main components of the food grains forming 58.3 per cent and 8.6 per cent. In non-food-grains, oilseeds form 9.9 per cent, fibres 4.5 per cent, plantation crops 3.6 per cent and the remaining inclusive of sugarcane and tobaccoo, form 15.1 per cent. The sugarcane production appears to be quite promising as it stands first among the non-food grains so far as its share is concerned i.e. 8.7 per cent.

The importance of sugarcane has been increasing throughout the plan period under review. The index number (1949–50=100) of the production increased from 113.7 in 1950–51 to 119.8 in 1955–56. It went upto 183.9 in 1960–61 and 201.4 in 1964–65. Even in the crucial year of 1965–66, the index number was 195.2. It suffered a heavy set back in 1966–67 and 1967–68 due to unexpected change in policy measures, attitude of sugarcane producers and international relations. However, in 1968–69 it has again regained its place of pride, the index number of production of which is 193.7 in 1968–69. During the process of development, certain crops like inferior cereals, jute and mesta lost importance. As the development takes place, people begin acquiring tastes for better articles and materials. Hence, reduction of importance of the inferior cereals appear reasonable. Jute crop is loosing ground as India faces severe competition of Pakistan and as jute growing area lies more in the territory of that country. Besides, new synthetic products have emerged as substitutes of jute. In addition, recently more emphasis has been placed on staple crops of food taking land away from jute crop. However, tea,

Agricultural Development in India

coffee, rubber and oil seeds have grown more in importance because of their increasing size of domestic as well as international markets. Rice and wheat continue to enjoy an enviable position in the crop pattern of India as these are staple food crops of the country.

Food Shortage

Inspite of the rise in acreage, production and yield per hectare, total food production continues to be supplemented by the imports from abroad. Even after eighteen years since the inception of Planning era, India has not emerged as self-reliant country. However, the Fourth Five Year Plan has visualized this aspect and declared that there would be no imports from abroad since 1971–72. Assuming that by the end of Fourth Plan India becomes self-sufficient, the question remains: are the targets of food production in the Fourth Plan realizable in practice? Over the past 18 years, our country has been in a position to increase food production from 55 million tons to 95 million tons. The target of getting additional 25 to 30 million tons over a period of five years of the Fourth Plan therefore, appears to be ambitious.

The net availability of food in India is below the nutritional standards though the imports from foreign countries are added to the domestic production. The food shortage is, among other reasons, due to phenomenal increase in population. Population of India increased from 363.4 millions in 1951 to 524 millions in 1968 and per head availability of food (cereals and pulses) rose from 394 grams per day in 1951 to 453 grams in 1968 accounting for only small rise of 60 grams of food per day per head as seen from Table 3.

TABLE 3

Net Availability of Cereals and Pulses

Year	Population (million tons)	Cereals				Pulses net avail- ability (mil. tons)	Net avail- ability per capita per day (grams)
		Production (mil. tons)	Net imports (mil. tons)	With draw- als from Govt. stocks (mil. tons)	Net avail- ability (mil. tons)		
1951	363.4	40.02	4.80	(+)0.59	44.23	8.03	394.0
1956	397.8	50.34	1.39	(—)0.60	51.33	10.21	429.5
1961	442.7	60.65	3.49	(—)0.17	64.31	11.11	466.8
1964	475.2	61.75	6.26	(—)1.24	69.25	8.80	448.8
1966	498.9	54.45	10.34	(+)0.14	64.65	8.55	402.0
1968	524.1	72.58	5.69	(+)1.99	76.28	10.58	452.9

Note: Net production has been taken as 87.5% of the gross production, 12.5% being provided for feed, seed, requirements and wastage.

Net availability – Net production + net imports + change in Government stocks.

Source: Economic Survey 1969–70, Government of India, p. 72.

The food imports appear to serve significant role in bridging the gap between demand for and supply of foodgrains. The imports of food fluctuate from year to year indicating the uncertain supply of domestic food production. For instance, at the end of the First Plan India imported hardly 1.39 million tons of food, the lowest figure of imports uptil now reflecting the adequacy of foodgrains at that time. But in 1966 the imports were the highest being 10.34 million tons which were necessitated by the reduced production in the domestic economy. Corresponding to the imports, net availability of food in India also changed from plan to plan. During the First Plan and Second Plan net availability of food per head per day works out to be about 35 grams. But at the end of the Third Plan there was a reduction to the tune of 60 grams as compared to the figure in 1961. In addition to imports, actual supply of food has been helped by withdrawals from the Government stocks. Thus, the supply of food without imports and government releases, happens to be less than is demanded. It is therefore necessary that the Government and the farmers should try to increase agricultural production so that the imports should not be burden for the economy in terms of repayment in money value.

Price Fluctuations

As a result of food-shortage, the prices of agricultural commodities as well as those of manufactured goods go up. This price-rise sometimes happens to be very wide indicating uncertain behaviour of many economic activities which is not desirable from the point of stability of the economy. These price fluctuations affect resource allocation adversely and the economic decisions will be misleading. It is therefore, necessary that the root cause of price-rise in general is less elastic nature of food-production which needs to be corrected.

TABLE 4

Index Numbers of Wholesale Prices [1952–53 = 100]

Weight	Agricultural commodities	Food-grains	Manufactures	All Commodities
Last week of:				
1955–56	96	86	103	99.2
1960–61	126	99	129	127.5
1965–66	178	156	157	174.0
1967–68	204	205	163	201.1

Source: Economic Survey 1969–70 Government of India, p. 103.

During the period 1955–56 to 1967–68, the price rise was 102 per cent in respect of all commodities whereas it was 110 per cent in the case of agricultural commodities. Wholesale prices of agricultural commodities rose more rapidly than those of all commodities in general. The whole sale prices of foodgrains, in particular, went upto 205 in 1967–68 accounting for 219 per cent rise during this period. Price-rise of manufactures during the same period was of the order of 60 per cent only. The prices of foodgrains shot up by three-fold rise as compared to the prices of manufactured products. Even the All India consumer price index of food went up from 94 in 1955–56 to 228 in 1967–68, whereas corresponding figures of general inder were 96 in 1955–56 and 213 in 1967–68.

Favourable Terms of Trade

The above considerations go to the extent of showing that agricultural commodities are better priced than the manufactures. The relative prices of manufactures and agricultural commodities indicate that the latter enjoy favourable terms of trade. This situation implies that more and more resources from non-agricultural sector should flow in agricultural sector. Secondly, because of better returns, farm-production should increase very rapidly. Thirdly, marketable surplus of foodgrains should be augmented. Fourthly, farm sector should grow more commercialized and modernised.

However, the developments in Indian agriculture do not support the above observations. As a matter of fact, external resources flow to agriculture seems to be hesitant due to instability of agriculture itself. Secondly, better returns serve many times to make the farmers less enthusiastic to produce more. Thirdly, higher prices of food-grains bring adequate rewards to meet cash commitments of the farmers with disposal of less quantities and consequently the consumption of farm families increases thereby reducing marketable surplus. Finally, farm sector remains unorganized and less mechanised as agriculture and industry remain isolated. There is no common laison between agriculture and industry to benefit them mutually. On the contrary, industries are facing awkward situation as the workers in industries ask for higher wages as they have to pay higher prices for foodgrains. Along with the rise in wages, costs of production of industrial products go up. Subsequently, the prices of manufactured products rise. The price-spiral continues to perpetuate in the economy. However, efforts should be made to curb the price-rise and to stabilize the economy.

The below table indicates that terms of trade for manufactures were favourable upto 1960–61 and afterwards agricultural com-

TABLE 5

Relative Prices of Manufactures and Agricultural Commodities

(Index of wholesale prices 1952–53 = 100)

Year	General index of whole-sale prices	Prices of manufactures (finished products) as a proportion of the prices of agricultural commodities
Last month of:		
1955–56	98.1	106.2
1960–61	127.5	101.7
1965–66	172.3	86.0
1967–68	200.1	76.7

Source: Ibid. p. 114.

modities enjoyed favourable terms of trade. The gap in the price-structure of manufactures and agricultural commodities indicates that there is unbalanced growth between agriculture and industry. To have an integrated growth of both agriculture and industry, parity of prices of two types of products is necessary. Agriculture and industry in developing economy like India should be treated as complementary. Agriculture should be in a position to use industrial output and machineries as inputs so as to modernize itself and industry in its turn should depend upon agricultural goods (wage goods) for developing itself on a wider scale. Thus, overall objective of economic development of India will be feasible through harmonious integration of agriculture into the general economy.

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON STUDY OF LANGUAGE*

Gopāla Śaraṇa

Abstract

More than one perspective can be brought to bear on the study of language. Linguistics is an essential background for any kind of language study. But the present-day linguistics is only *a* science of language. Etymologically anthropology means 'science of man'. According to anthropologists language is a part of culture. Therefore, no linguistic phenomenon is outside the purview of the anthropological interest. In actual practice, however, the linguistic anthropologist is concerned with those aspects of speech and language which he comes across in the course of his studies of culture.

Linguistics proper, including philology, has always been interested in describing languages, classifying them and in explaining similarities and differences between them. In one part of this paper it has been indicated how anthropologists have made notable contributions, in the last one hundred years, on such traditionally linguistic problems as the origin of language, the classification and the genetic relationship of languages, particularly through their study of unwritten languages, and the significance of morphological differences among languages.

There are certain other linguistic areas in which anthropologists have been interested as anthropologists and not as linguists. Since the forties of the present century, and particularly due to the influence of Sapir and Whorf, the topic of 'language and culture' has been frequently debated. A more recent development in linguistic anthropology is known as 'enthnoscience'. Its protagonists call it' 'the new ethnography'. It is supposed not to be 'mere' description but aims to formulate hypotheses at the ethnographic level itself. A new technique has also been developed by some athropologists to analyze some aspects of lexicon in their cultural context. It is called componential analysis. The anthropologist tries to find the criteria for applying the individual terms within a particular set of taxonomic terms used by the members of a culture. Ethnography of communication and speech refers to studies which are ethnographic in their basis but deal with patterned complexity of communication. In this approach the patterns of speech activity is located through a direct investigation of the use of language in situational contexts.

In India historical/comparative and descriptive/structural linguistics are taken care of well by independent departments of linguistics. Ethnoscience, componential analysis and ethnography of communication are the most fruitful areas which should be taken up for research and inquiry by anthropologists in India.

I

1. Introduction

It is well-known that more than one perspective can be brought to bear on the study of language. Sometimes scholars in the Old World are surprised by the anthropologist's interest in language. Etymologically anthropology means 'science of man'. Everything which concerns man, says Ashley Montagu, is grist to the anthropologist's mill. Culture is the word which he uses for the supra-organic aspect of human life. And to the anthropologist language is a part of culture.

Every human group possesses material apparatus and technology. A system of social relations, ideology, values, norms and ideals are also parts of life of such a human group. Besides these, every society has a distinctive pattern of its own which can be called its ethos. All the items mentioned above are parts of a culture. In the anthropological perspective culture, the total way of life of a people, is viewed as patterned, historically derived and learned. Nothing, which a people are concerned with in the course of their living, whether it be the idea-system or the behaviour pattern or the artifacts, is outside the realm of their culture. In short, to the anthropologist a culture is a patterned whole in which all its aspects are meaningfully interlinked.

Man's non-biological (cultural) activities are based on his capability to use symbols which receives expression through man's endowed capacity for communicable speech. "Language", in Edward Sapir's words, "is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols" (1949:8). Speech is one of man's most fundamental activities and language is an important part of culture. So, if anthropology is to be worthy of its name it cannot exclude speech and language from its area of interest.

In a recent book linguistics is defined as "the scientific study of language" (Dinneen 1967:1). If in this case 'Science' includes all serious intellectual disciplines, and 'language' consists of all aspects of human speech, then, linguistics will certainly become the whole study of language. One would concede that linguistics was essential

as a necessary background to a serious study of language, or one of its aspects, from any point of view. But present-day linguistics is only a science of language. According to Gleason, a well-known American linguist: "Linguistics is the science which attempts to understand language from the point of view of its internal structure" (1961:2). As a separately established discipline with independent university departments, linguistics came into being after World War II. The term linguistics, as a general name, has replaced 'philology' only recently. The Linguistic Society of America was founded in 1924 and the Linguistic Association of Great Britain was established in 1965.

Speaking in general terms, no linguistic phenomenon is outside the range of anthropological interest. But in actual practice, anthropologists, like linguists, are alway selective. The anthropologist is concerned with those aspects of speech and language which he comes across in the course of his studies. We teach linguistics in anthropology as a sub-field of the subject. It is different from what a linguist, unacquainted with anthropology, would do. The same holds good for anthropological interest in economic, political and legal phenomena. We do not teach economics, political science and law as the specialists in these fields would do. According to Dell Hymes, when we study and teach about speech and language within the context of anthropology, we are doing linguistic anthropology. The scope of linguistic anthropology is defined by the anthropological interest in linguistic phenomena, viewed as one of the aspects of culture. Its characteristic feature is that questions about language are conditioned and shaped by anthropology (Hymes 1963:277).

Linguistics proper, incorporating philology, has always been interested in describing languages, in classifying them and in explaining their similarities and differences. It is needless to say that at different times different interests were relatively more dominant than others. In the last one hundred years anthropologists have evinced keen interest in traditionally linguistic problems. The following account will show that the anthropological contributions to linguistics are quite significant. In the relevant literature this approach is known as anthropological linguistics in contrast with psychological or philosophical approach to language.

II

2. Origin of Language

The question of origin of language has been an age-old attraction and is still present in its modern form. For centuries it was a

main theme of speculative philology. It seems that in the middle of the 19th century the question was being debated from philosophical and theological points of view. But it was also of anthropological interest. In 1865 E. B. Tylor published his *Researches into the Early History of Mankind.* In that book he discussed the relation of language to thought, the nature of capacity for language as manifested in the spontaneous 'gesture language' of deaf-mutes, the processes supposed to be involved in the origin of spoken language and the relevance of the gesture language to this, and language and its relation to culture, etc.

In 1866 Tylor published a paper entitled, 'On the origin of language'. He was very skeptical of the value of wild speculation on the origin of language. He had data on deaf-mutes. From these he came to the conclusion which is surprisingly not different from the latest we know of on this point. Thought is not completely dependent upon spoken language. Language is the invitable consequence of human mind. If an individual is somehow deprived of the means of acquiring linguistic ability, e.g., the case of the deaf-and-dumb, he will develop "the gesture-language out of his own mind without the aid of speaking men" (Tylor 1863:12). It is intriguing that Lennerberg, a contemporary expert, also says that "all men are endowed with an innate propensity for a type of behaviour that develops automatically into language, and this propensity is so deeply ingrained that language-like behaviour devalops even under the most unfavourable conditions of peripheral and even central nervous system impairment" (quoted in Loundsbury 1968:170).

The problem of origin of language is today rephrased as the problem of human capacity for language. Anthropologically trained linguists like Hockett have tried to specify the capacity from the point of view of linguistics. But major contribution is likely to be made by biological disciplines like comparative neutral anatomy and neurophysiology and anthropological disciplines such as physical anthropology and primate ethology.

3. Comparative and Historical Linguistics

Historical and/or comparative linguistics is a speciality connected primarily with the Indo-European family of languages. It is usually dated from the year 1786 when Sir William Jones announced his firm conviction of "a stronger affinity .... than could have been produced by accident" between Sanskrit on the one hand and Greek and Latin on the other. By 1860's notable results had been achieved. It may be well to remember, as Loundsbury points out, that "the 'linguistics' was Indo-European; the 'comparison' was

between languages of that family....and the 'history' was that which could be reconstructed by reference from the relations of forms in the languages compared" (1968:173). An important attribute of this approach was the view that language did not have to follow the course of human will. Therefore, linguistic science was a natural science and its method was the same as that of the other natural sciences. This field of study is usually not considered anthropological linguistics. But beginning with William Jones and due to the work of devoted scholars, a new conception of 'linguistic history, language phylogeny and process of linguistic change' had been created. It proved very useful in studying language families which have been by tradition in the realm of anthropology, i.e., the unwritten languages.

As a by-product of philological and comparative linguistic studies, a trend of great anthropological interest began in 1880's. Attempts were made to reconstruct the cultural elements of the ancestral Indo-European speech community. This was done only from linguistic evidence obtained through detailed study and comparison of the Indo-European languages.

An important development of the seventies of the last century is known to the linguists as the 'neogrammarian hypothesis'. According to it the laws of phonetic change have no exceptions. It has provided, save in exceptional cases, a very firm basis for historically-oriented comparative linguistics. Its assumptions and methods provided firm basis to reconstruct phylogeny of languages and forms of words of ancestral as well as extinct languages. Yet up to this date the 'subclassification' of languages remains a problem. The prevailing opinion is that quantitative evaluation, based on counts of cognate lexical items which refer to the most basic and universal objects of experience, should provide the best hope for solving the problem of sub-classification. In this caes also anthropological linguists have made a significant contribution through glottochronology or lexico-statistics. Morris Swadesh devised this method to estimate approximate time depths required for branching within a family. This estimate is made on the basis of lexical counts. A 'basic vocabulary' list is employed for this purpose. It has been observed that the apparent loss or replacement of items from such a list tends to vary in a very large range. Of late some doubts have been raised as to the validity of conclusions arrived at through lexico-statistics. But it has been found that within, the range of 500 to 5000 years, this method yields a fairly reliable approximate dating of the separation of linguistic and ethnic groups.

4. Morphological Differences Among Languages and Their Significance.

Scholars have attempted to tell apart the mental and cultural capabilities of peoples on the basis of the differences among languages spoken by them. The anthropological involvement here is deep and its contribution is notable. In the first decade of the nineteenth century Friedrich Schlegel said that the 'structural plan' or 'comparative grammar of languages' helped in establishing genealogies of languages. He considered the Indo-European languages to have an 'organic' structure because the differentiation of word-forms, he thought, worked from 'inside to out' in their case. All the other languages were supposed to have a 'mechanical' structure for he considered their grammatical determination to be 'added from the outside'. American Indian languages were in the lower level and the Chinese was at the lowest. His elder brother, August Schlegel, soon converted this dichotomy into a trichotomy of 'languages without grammar' (Chinese), the 'affixing languages' (all languages other than the Indo-European and the Semitic) and the 'inflectional languages' (Indo-European and Semitic). It was embarrassing that the Chinese language should be in the lowest category when the Chinese were known to have a great civilization. One philologist attributed this linguistic 'backwardness' to the Chinese conservatism and persistency. Another one said that the Chinese language could not grow beyond the stage of infancy because of their artful writing system. By the end of the nineteenth century the experts' views had undergone change. Now elaborate morphology was considered a sign of backwardness. In other words, simplification of morphology was taken to be an indication of progress.

Franz Boas, the great American anthropologist, set forth the idea of linguistic relativism. It was based on the principle of language universals. He was of the opinion that, as for as the fundamental and psychologically relevant aspects of a language were concerned, all the languages were essentially on the same footing. He firmly believed that the form of a language could not obstruct clear thinking or formulation of generalized ideas. Edward Sapir was even more emphatic on this point than Boas. He said: "The latent content of all languages is the same—the intuitive science of experience. It is the manifest form that is never twice the same, for this form, which we call linguistic morphology, is nothing more or less than a collective art of thought" (quoted in Loundsbury 1968:203). In recent times two linguistic anthropologists, Joseph Greenberg and Charles Hockett, have been the most notable contributors to language typology.

5. The Study of Aboriginal (unwritten) Languages and Its Implications.

From the very beginning the study of primitive or non-literate peoples has been one of the chief tasks of anthropology. The study of languages of the primitive peoples also became the exclusive preserve of the anthropologists. In the latter half of the nineteenth century and in the first two decades of the twentieth century reconstruction of the unrecorded past was the primary task in anthropology as well as in linguistics. In keeping with this trend, the linguistic evidence was used for 'historical' reconstructions. The experience gained by linguists in their comparative and historical studies of the written languages of the Indo-European family was brought to bear by the anthropologist in his studies of these unwritten languages. They classified these languages into families and subfamilies. Successful attempts were made to unravel the prehistoric phylogeny of the American Indian languages. Anthropologists have made notable contributions in classification and description of aborginal or native languages in North and South America, Oceania, Africa and non-Indo-European regions of Eurasia.

The anthropological contributions to linguistics through the study of aboriginal languages is not confined to classification alone. Significant contributions have also been made in "the reconstruction of lexical forms and of grammar, as well as phonological patterns, of ancient ancestral languages...." (Loundsbury 1968:158). The 'provincial' nature of linguistic studies due to almost exclusive concern with the Indo-European family of languages, was replaced with a rather universal interest in all languages.

We have indicated earlier how Boas and Sapir demonstrated that languages could not be called inferior or superior on the basis of their morphological typology. Boas also convincingly argued that it was fallacious to say that a language type was determined by the racial heredity or the level of cultural development of a people. Through numerous concrete studies anthropologists have attempted to remove misconceptions and stereotypes about 'other peoples' and their languages. Till recently one heard that there were 'primitive' languages. It was believed that their insufficient vocabularies were supported with gestures; they changed fast because they were unwritten; and they were 'grammarless' as well as had no or very few 'abstract' terms. Anthropology unequivocally repudiates all such stereotypes about the so-called primitive languages. It posits the view of 'equality, diversity and relativity', to borrow Dell Hymes phrase, with regard to all human languages. Sapir has succinctly put it in these words: "We may say that a language is so constructed

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that no matter what any speaker of it may desire to communicate, no matter how original or bizarre his idea or his fancy, the language is prepared to do this work..... The world of linguistic forms, held within the framework of a given language, is a complete system of reference" (quoted in Loudsbury 1968:208).

III

6.   Some Recent Trends

In the previous section we examined anthropological contributions, if any, to distinctively linguistic problems and areas of interest. In Hymes words, this task would be concerned with coordinating "knowledge about language from the viewpoint of *language*" (1968: 235).   We shall now look at many crucial questions about language which are not asked or tackled by comparative and historical linguistics and are only occasionally touched upon by structural linguistics. They have extra-linguistic or socio-cultural dimensions.   In contrast to linguistics, "anthropology's task is to coordinate knowledge about language from the point of view of *man*" (Hymes 1968:235).

Interest in 'language and culture' or 'language in culture' dates back to the early forties.   It is known that languages select different factors to specify and describe the same situations in very different ways.   Languages categorize reality, e.g., kinship terminology, physical environment or colour spectrum in many different ways. As a cultural system language, more or less faithfully, reflects the structuring of reality which is peculiar to the group which speaks it.   For example, in English approach to spatial orientation is indicated by the four-fold classification, "north, south, east and west". In some of the American Indian languages the spatial division has a different functional value in terms of 'upriver, downriver, toward the river and away from the river'.   In its most emphatic form inter-relation between language and culture is presented as Sapir-Whorf hypothesis.   Sapir contended that people speaking different languages lived in different 'worlds of reality'.   Whorf, was, if anything, even more vigorous in his advocacy of this point of view.   But today many a linguist as well as the anthropologist would consider it an open question.

6.1.   **Ethnography of Communication:** It is a well-accepted tenet of the twentieth century anthropology that field work should be done through the native language.   It is obvious that, unlike the structural linguist, the anthropologist must acquire a good knowledge of such a language.   This situation provides the anthropologist

with an ideal condition to study a language in its social context. But, surprisingly, in the Commonwealth countries, the intimate knowledge of the native tongues did not lead to studies concerning the impact of language on social behaviour and social relations. Malinowski, though, was a glorious exception. In India, like the mother-in-law, we have kept linguistics and linguistic anthropology at an arm's length from the other sub-divisions of the science of man.

The term 'ethnography of communication' refers to studies which are ethnographic in basis and deal with the patterned complexity of communication. This approach is interested in locating patterns of speech activity through a direct investigation of the use of language in situational contexts. The communicative habits of a community as a whole, not a linguistic form or a given code, constitute such a context. Linguistics and linguistic methodology are of importance. But in ethnography of communication "it is not linguistics, but ethnography—not language, but communication—which must provide the frame of reference" (Hymes 1964:2). The total linguistic code is seen in the background of how the elements o acts of speech and their relations are organized. The latter, in turn, are viewed as a system of the acts of communication which are characteristic of a group. Language is considered here as integrally related to the pattern of communicative events of a community, and not as its abstract correlate. Intensive ethnographic studies have revealed to the anthropologist that what is cast off by linguistics as variation and deviation has its own organizational pattern.

The main theme of such studies is centered around social variation of speech. Linguistic structure itself is subjected to examination from this angle, for example, investigation of co-existence of two or more codes, loss or crystallization of a new one or adaptation of whole languages. Another feature is matching of linguistic and social factors. One may be interested in determining the functional varieties of a speech community or the social placement of its members from linguistic cues, etc. The acts of speech, their implicit patterns, makeup and the overall role of speech activity within a community constitute a third focus of interest in the study of social variation of speech. One would also like to know how one speech community differs from another in the utilization of its speech resource.

In the first half of the 20th century anthropology distinguished itself through the analysis of self-contained linguistic structures. Establishing autonomy was its main aim then, but now the quest is for integration. According to Hymes it means analysis of function through "the engaging of linguistic structures in social context"

(1968:233).   It may be relevant to mention here in passing that in social-cultural anthropology, unlike in anthropological linguistics, study of structure has followed that of function.

6.2   **Study of Semantics: Ethnoscience and Componential Analysis:** Meaning is fundamental to both language and culture.   But the anti-semantic tenor of modern linguistics is well known.   It is rooted in the view that meaning is vague, too complex, difficult to observe and handle scientifically.   The pragmatic and operational techniques have been developed by linguistics to locate elements and structures of languages without bothering about meaning.   As Kroeber puts it, one of the tenets of modern linguistics is that "as it has cast out psychologizing as something irrelevant, distracting and likely to be misleading to the linguist, so also it must try to operate as far as possible without leaning unduly on meaning " (1964:xvii).   Here anthropology in general and anthropological linguistics in particular part company with linguistics.   Whorf was not speaking for the majority of American linguists when he said that "the very essence of linguistics is the quest, for meaning" (1956:79).   They have been more concerned with formulating phonological theory and method.

Leonard Bloomfield, the famous American linguist, defined meaning of a linguistic form "as the situation in which the speaker utters it and the response which it calls forth in the hearer" (1933:139). This influential behaviourist concept of meaning, a reaction to the previous conventionalized view, is now being replaced with that of 'structural semantics'.   It developed partly through new approaches in linguistic theory and partly due to a new type of ethnography. In both these cases meaning is presented through vocabulary.   Sapir and Whorf, on the other hand, were interested in grammar.   The latter was beginning to isolate semantic components in vocabulary at the time of his premature death.

Some contemporary American anthropologists, who are well-versed in structural linguistics, are trying to extend the sphere of structural description outside the realm of language proper.   They hold that even the phonological and grammatical relevance of features in a structural description of language are rooted in the function of reference.   This amounts to an extension of semantic description into ethnography.   This group of scholars refuses to accept that ethnography is 'mere' description.   On the other hand an ethnographic account is viewed as a task of real theoretic importance.   This approach is sometimes called *ethnoscience*.   Sturtevant (1964:101) calls it 'the New Ethnography' which is expected to advance the whole of cultural anthropology by raising "the standards of reliability, validity and exhaustiveness in ethnography."

Every culture differs from every other culture in the way of classifying experience. 'Ethno' in ethnoscience is supposed to refer to "the system of knowledge and cognition typical of a given culture" (Sturtevant 1964:99). Major classification system, as bounded in the culture concerned, is described instead of giving some external or cross-cultural definitions. The way a people talk about their world of experience gives us the cue as to how do they construe it and also testify to their existence. Frake tells us clearly that unlike stimulus-response psychology, ethnography works out "rules of culturally appropriate behaviour". He advocates that "we must get inside our subjects' heads" (1964:133). He consideres ethnography to be akin to linguistics. The linguist is interested in speech messages which are part of the total domain of 'messages' which constitute the field of ethnography (Frake 1964:132)

The protagonists of ethnoscience also contend that formulation of hypotheses or theories is not to be confined to comparative research in library. This 'new ethnography' aims to formulate hypotheses at the ethnographic level itself. Besides this, the other two charateristics of ethnoscience approach are, firstly, the use of linguistic expressions to comprehend and earmark the cognitive world of the authors of the culture under study. Secondly, a concerted effort is made to avoid imposing any external categories on the native culture (Hymes 1968:236). Further, special importance is attached to the native systems of terminology and folk-classifications.

Sapir held that it was difficult to say that differences in grammatical structure reflect cultural differences. The same cannot be said about lexical classifications. But serious students feel that there are also a few constant bases underlying the variability of 'major categorical distinctions in lexicon'. In Loundsbury's words, "if there are universal properties here, as there are also in grammar, this too is of interest—to general anthropology" (1968:225). One of the new approaches developed for a semantic study of the culturally sensitive areas of lexicon (particularly of vocabularies of kinship) is called componential analysis.

Ward Goodenough and Floyd Loundsbury gave a good spurt to this new approach through their papers which were published side by side in the same issue of *Language* in 1956. Componential analysis had been known before hand in linguistics proper, though in fields other than semantics. For instance, in his componential study Harris, Loundsbury tells us, did not deal with meanings directly. It is true that his components were labeled semantically. But the so-called 'linguistic meaning' dealt with "portions of possible linguistic contexts in which a form can occur" (Loundsbury 1956:162). The

anthropologists have now demonstrated the feasibility of a direct semantic approach to componential structure.

The anthropological componential analysts feel that an analysis of the communication system of a culture must be an essential pre-requisite for a good ethnographic account. A field worker must have fairly good and accurate knowledge of both grammar and lexicon of the local people's language. If an anthropologist wants to carry on a phonological and grammatical analysis of new speech forms he will get sufficient help from descriptive linguistic models. In formal linguistic analysis the touch-stone is the grammatical acceptability and interpretability of utterances as a reference to meaning does not improve grammatical analysis. For the ethnographer the utterances of his people must be acceptable and interpretable with reference to their meaning. Very little help, if any, can be obtained in this connection from linguistic sources and traditions because "many of non-trivial, and often essential, semantic and contextual relationships obtaining among lexical items are often either neglected or handled in an imprecise and unsystematic manner" (Conklin 1962:119).

In componential analysis a grouping of objects, which can be distinguished terminologically, is called a segregate. The idea of contrast is important in such an analysis. Contrast is considered to be relative to the environment in which it occurs. Two categories are said to contrast only if the difference between them is significant for defining their use. A contrast set is "a class of mutually exclusive segregates which occur in the same culturally relevant environment" (Sturtevant 1964:107). The set of the total range of meanings of its segregates is called the domain of the contrast set. It is possible that in a set some segregates share features which are not shared by other segreagates. Such a set of segregates when it can be separated from others of the same set on the basis of aspects of meaning, is called a paradigm. The prerequistites of a paradigmatic analysis are, firstly, the existence of a culturally relevant environment with all the segregates in a contrast set which occur, and, secondly, one should be dealing with a complete contrast set.

A componential analysis, says Sturtevant, is "an analysis of a paradigm in terms of the defining features, the "dimensions of contrast" or "critical attributes" of the segregates in the set. The aim is to discover the "rules for distinguishing newly encountered specimens of a category from contrasting alternatives" (1964:109). The minimum features of meaning which differentiate segregates in the set are to be located first. 'Components' are the features which have two or more contrasting values. The presence or irrelevance of

components and the way in which they form a grouping help us to define a segregate. The paradigm is then seen as a multi-dimensional structure. The categories are placed here on the basis of componential dimensions. In other words, within a defined frame attempt is made to determine contrastive relevance, the possibility of substituting one element for another and the effect such a substitution may have on the whole frame. In fine, componential analysis tries to find out the criteria for applying the individual terms within "a particular set of taxonomic-terms [kinship or other terms] used by members of a culture" (Bright 1968:21).

IV

7. Prospects for Linguistic Anthropology in India

Linguistics and anthropology have been closely associated in the United States of America. Boas and Sapir considered themselves anthropologists but their contributions to American linguistics were most memorable. Bloomfield, who was initially trained in Germanic languages, "entered into the same anthropological heritage and found much of it congenial" (Gleason 1961:212). Sanskrit has figured prominently in European linguistics ever since 1786 when Sir William Jones declared that Sanskrit, Greek and Latin had "a stronger affinity, both in roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident" (quoted in Waterman 1963:16). Historical and comparative linguistics in India is already taken care of by British and Continental philologists and linguists and their counterparts in India. All these scholars in the Old World were trained almost exclusively in the Indo-European languages. In India, till recently, we did not teach anything linguistic in anthropology. Practically all linguistic teaching was confined to language departments.

Independent departments of linguistics have come up now in several Indian universities. They take care of historical and comparative linguistics as well as modern descriptive and structural linguistics. An orientation of linguistic anthropology in India towards classification of languages would not be of that relevance as the classification of the American Indian languages was in the development of this branch in the United States. With a tradition of social-anthropological research of over half a century in India it should be possible to break new grounds in the relatively new field of ethnography of speaking and communication. It is possible here to relate analysis of social structure to that of meaning and speaking.

In social-cultural anthropology we study political, economic, religious and kinship systems. Linguistics analyzes languages in terms of their internal structure and deals with grammer and phonology. In neither case much attention is paid as to how does a person adapt his speech to other kinds of person, settings and topics, what are the rules which an able and intelligent member of a community must be conversant with and under what conditions people use different languages, dialects or level of speech. In one word, the researcher here is interested to find out the full set of codes available in a community. In India a competent social anthropologist should be able to contribute to such studies of the use of language in interaction. They have not yet attracted attention of either the social anthropologist or the linguist in this country as they lie between these two fields.

Most languages make use of more or less the same features of sound. They differ in the functions to which they assign sounds. The phonemic and morphemic aspects of languages are studied by structural linguists. Leaving the study of languages in and of themselves to the linguist, we in anthropology could concentrate on the study of Indian languages in their cultural context. One could take up folk-taxonomies or could structurally analyze kinds of speech acts in a community, such as, praising, cursing, blessing, lying, joking, instructing, reporting, etc. The researchers should find out the means to identify each one of these acts of speech.

Through intensive ethnographic research we should take up the study of codes in context. It is necessary to have an accurate perspective of the linguistic complexity of life in most communities. There is a need to tackle the problem of describing and analyzing an actual speech community as a whole. We should also know the types of speech community which exist in our country in terms of bilinguialism, sacred and slang languages and dialects and standard languages. The anthropological work should describe the number and types of code employed in different speech communities as well as the way in which the codes are used. With the present social anthropological orientation in India it should be possible for us to undertake such studies.

In linguistic anthropology we are interested in understanding what people are saying and doing in communication. So we cannot but broaden our interest to include various types of linguistic or semi-linguistic communication within our purview. In our country, to take an example, weeping has had a traditionally accepted social role. About two decades earlier in the eastern Uttar Pradesh a woman was supposed to weep when her agnatic kin visited her at her husband's place. She was also expected to weep on her arrival at

her natal home and at the time of her departure from it. A maiden was expected to weep for several days, at fixed intervals prior to her marriage and of course, when she was departing to her husband's place after her marriage. On all these occasions a woman would utter certain phrases which were highly conventionalized. Such items and the significance of chanting and singing in cultural context are of immense interest to linguistic anthropology. In India we need to investigate it quite carefully.

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THE EMERGING PATTERN OF CENTRE-STATE RELATIONS IN INDIA

A. M. RAJASEKHARIAH

The co-existence of two governments, each with its own specified sphere of activity, necessarily involves the distribution of powers between them. This division of powers is a very essential condition of a federal polity. Usually there are two forces which tend towards the formation of federation—the centripetal and the centrifugal. Thus in a federation there may be one of the two: either the central government may posess greater powers than the provincial or state governments or vice versa. To decide this distribution of powers either the powers of one authority may be defined, leaving the undefined and unenumerated powers to be exercised by the other authority; or there may be enumeration of the powers of both. But in politics there can be no rigid walls interposed between the powers of two authorities and, in fact, questions frequently arise about a power which it is very difficult to assign to one authority without a protest from the other. This difficulty is exprienced in one of the two ways, viz., either the Constitution reserves the residuary powers to be exercised by one of the authorities clearly mentioned; or it empowers both governments to exercise co-ordinate authority in those matters.

But in a federation both the federal government and the state governments derive their authority from the people and the fundamental law, and are absolutely independent of each other, neither of them being legally authorised within the meaning and purpose of the Constitution to encroach upon the authority of the other or to destroy it by its force. Each is supreme within the sphere allotted to it. The pattern of Centre-State relations in a federal polity is, therefore, to be determined in the Federal Constitution itself.

In different federations the powers of the units or the Centre vary due to the differences in circumstances which brought about the adoption of the federal constitution. In certain cases the provinces or states enjoy very limited powers which are essentially limited and assigned to them by the constitution itself, all others being reserved to the federal government. In certain other cases the provinces enjoy very large powers which the constitution reserves to them after assigning some definitely specified one to the federal authority. The circumstances in which it is decided have a profound influence on its provisions as, for example in the case of the United States of America. The general government of the United States of America is called a government with 'specified powers'

or 'enumerated powers' or 'delegated powers'. This was largely due to the circumstances of the Constitution of 1787, though Section 8 of the Constitution has introduced some changes subsequently.

The Constitution of India has been largely modelled, in the distribution of powers between the Centre and the Units. on the Government of India Act, 1935. The spirit was to concentrate as much power as possible in the Centre. A strong Centre has been envisaged in the Constitution and it so happened that with each Five-Year Plan the power of the Centre, having residuary powers to regulate the growth of economy, increased. There are many provisions in the Constitution which emphasise the role of the Centre. The demands of developmental activity have called upon the Centre to provide for enormous funds and resources. In the Indian Union the general trend of relations between the Centre and the States will be subject to a variety of changing circumstances from time to time— constitutional provisions notwithstanding.

The Constitutional Provisions

The problem of determining the Centre-State relations was one of the crucial issues faced by the framers of the Constitution. A tendency towards greater centralization was apparent on the part of the framers. They provided for a federal policy with a strong Centre. They enumerated a threefold pattern of relations between the Centre and the States. The Seventh Schedule of the Constitution deals with the powers of the Union, the States and the Concurrent powers.

Article 256 of the Constitution lays down that "The executive power of every state shall be so exercised as to ensure compliance with the laws made by Parliament and any existing laws which apply in that State and the executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of such directions to a State as may appear to the Government of India to be necessary for that purpose." Further, Article 257 prevents the states from exercising their authority in a way imped-ing the exercise of its power by the Union Government.

These two articles give ample scope to the Union government for exercising executive control over the government of any unit.

Under Article 248, all residuary powers belong exclusively to the Union Government.

Article 250 provides that if two or more states so agree they may request the federal government that the Union Parliament may legislate for them on any subject contained in the State List.

Further, Article 249 gives the Union Parliament certain special powers of legislation, with powers of extension of time from year

to year with fresh annual resolution of the Council of States. The sum total of all legislative powers of the Union Parlaiment under different articles is so great that many critics remark that India is a federation in form only and in normal times. But otherwise it has set up a very strong Centre.

Consequently, the Centre has acquired full financial powers too. It has control over States in matters relating to Excise, Customs, Income-Tax etc. Again economic and social planning fall under Concurrent List. The Five-Year Plans have profoundly affected the financial administration of the country. Community Projects, construction of dams, hydro-electric works, encouragement to industries etc., are some of the main items in the national planning which need an adequate supply of men, material and money which can be effectively provided only through the Union government.

A Review of Centre-State Relations From 1950 to 1967

During the last twenty years, with the Congress in power in practically all the states, the Centre developed the role of a patriarch controlling and running the subsidiary units. The conflicts that arose between the Centre and States were settled through party machinery. Twenty years ago when the Constitution was framed, Indian nationalism was the guiding force. The constitutional pattern could be preserved by and large, because of a single party being in power both at the Centre and States. Stresses and strains were no doubt experienced with reference to at least one State, i.e., Kerala where Congress was dislodged from power for the first time. The Nehru era also had an impact on the Centre-State relations.

It is necessary, at this stage, to refer to some of the *instruments of Central control over States;* both constitutional and extra-constitutional. They were freely used during the Nehru era. The instruments like the Planning Commission, the Finance Commission, the office of the Governor, the President's rule, the Central Home Ministry and such others had a lot of impact on Centre-State relations. But since 1967 it has not been possible to employ these instruments as freely as before. In sum, the Centre-State relations during this period were conducted with the Congress Party as the focus and arbitrator of the various issues that were thrown up. But today that organization has become an instrument of disruption and political instability not only in the States but at the Central level too.

The Changing Scene Since 1967

Centre-State relations in India are now passing through a painful and difficult phase calling for careful attention and cautious handl-

ing. With the emergence of non-Congress governments in the States, the whole issue of Centre-State relations has to be reconsidered in the context of changed political conditions. There are many instances in which the states found themselves at loggerheads with the Centre. Aggressive regionalism, divergent ideologies of the political parties and lop-saided economic development are some of the significant reasons for the impasse in Centre-State relations today. In such an atmosphere the politics of confrontation becomes inevitable. Since the General Elections of 1967 the confrontation has been more on the political and constitutional spheres rather than in the financial sphere. The financial and economic relations are beset with issues that are by and large common to almost all states, irrespective of their political complexion and in any case are relatively less alarming in their immediate implications than the constitutional and political issues.

The really delicate and sensitive area of Centre-State relations as experienced in the last two years related to the political, administrative and law and order sectors. The confrontation has been rather sharp between the Congress Centre and the non-Congress United Front governments and, if this persists, may produce a serious impact on national unity, integrity and security.

Let us take for instance, the demand of the United Front in West Bengal for the removal of the Governor of that State Mr. Dharma Vira. While the State government itself had not made any such request at the governmental level, the United Front had kept up a relentless campaign for his removal. No government at the Centre can afford to be pressurised into conceding such a demand. But once the campaign gained momentum, Mr. Dharma Vira himself had to seek a transfer. Even in the selection of his successor, the State government was asked to approve a panel of names. The final selection still remained with the Central government. It was more a question of prestige and form that one was faced with in this situation.

The real strain on Centre-State relations arise because of the fundamental desire of the states to have maximum autonomy for themselves. It is inherent in a federal structure. This desire remained suppressed during the twenty years of Congress rule in most of the States. Having accepted centralised planning, the State governments naturally had to forego considerable freedom in financial matters. Had there been a balanced development in all parts of the country, probably problems of autonomy of States might not have loomed large. The crux of the problem is the wide powers the Centre has arrogated to itself over the years and with the emergence

of non-Congress governments in about half the number of States, it has assumed acute proportions. Many of the non-Congress governments went ahead with the abolition of land revenue without caring to find alternative sources. Meanwhile, the Centre put pressure on them, including those States controlled by the Congress, to fall in line which meant curtailment of freedom of action of the States. Many of the State governments consider that while the Constitution confers on them an autonomous status in a prescribed area of administrative and financial responsibility, this is being circumscribed, in practice, by the Centre assuming the initiative in crucial spheres of finance and planning. In some measure, the States are also discontented about the restraints sought to be clamped on their initiative in what is purely their own responsibility, like maintenance of internal peace and order. In respect of food policy and administration, the Centre's interference is unavoidable in the interests of the country as a whole. Nevertheless, it amounts to an erosion of the States' initiative.

Popular discontent, which manifested itself at the General Elections of 1967, pulled down the Congress governments in several States and this continued throughout 1968. The popular discontent also found vent in other forms like labour and student unrest. Of the non-Congress governments that were formed, only the single-party D.M.K. government in Tamil Nadu is stable.

The United Front Governments are the outcome of this popular discontent against the Congress Governments. The United Front governments are composed of a number of ill-assorted, and, in a sense, mutually exclusive groups or members owning allegiance to a number of political parties (or owing no allegiance to any party) proved the most serious threat to their stability. These developments hold out some essential political and constitutional lessons for the country, the most important of which is the classic one that coalition governments are notoriously weak and unstable and multi-party coalitions can only be more so. To the parliamentary system of government too, they pose a serious threat.

The current situation in India, the most important as also the most difficult one, should induce serious rethinking on their roles and policies by different political parties to suit the changing and developing needs of the national and local situations. This has given rise to the question as to how the relationship between the Congress and the non-Congress States should be determined. This has led to the depressing picture of instability. There is a growing trend towards political subversion in the country. The Congress Party, which suffered a serious set-back in the General Elections, was

soon after weakened further by large-scale defections. The Chief Ministers of the United Front governments of West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, were all former Congressmen. The collapse of the United Fronts came as a shot in the arm to the Congress. But it seemed to have generated the unfortunate and unjustified feeling that the Congress has regained its lost prestige. The United Fronts came to grief because of their own inherent contradictions, not because of anything done by the Congress. The disappearance of the United Fronts provided an excellent opportunity for the Congress to refurnish its image. But the internecine warfare within the Congress Party itself, so openly carried on, cannot bring lustre to the Centre-State relations. With the open split and the consequent break-up of the Congress at the national level, Centre-State relations have been put in a completely new footing.

Governors and the Centre-State Relations

Obviously the uncertainty regarding the discretionary powers of the Governor is another serious cause of instability. The office of the Governor is a very important element in the conduct of Centre-State relations in this country. Article 163 states that the Governor will be advised by the Ministers "except in so far as he is by or under this Constitution required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion." The states' responsibility regarding preservation of inernal peace and maintenance of law and order is quite a difficult one in view of the recent events. Police force is the exclusive responsibility of the State government. When it is found inadequate to face a situation, it is open to the State governments to get the assistance of the Central Reserve Police or even military assistance. But the most important problem that has emerged as to what the people or Central government can do if a State government either actively encourages violence and disorder or passively refuses to prevent them. The recent spectacle of Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, going on a fast to mobilise public opinion in favour of maintaining law and order in his State has raised many issues. The Chief Minister of a State going on fast against the policies and actions of his own government is a new phenomena in the politics of this country. Should the Governor and the Central Government be silent spectators or should they take action in the interest of law and order? Further, the events of Naxalbari and the *gheraos* in West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra and elsewhere are examples of the former, while the reluctance of many state governments to deal firmly with the language agitation is an obvious illustration of the latter. The scrupulous manner in which the student agitators respected the property of State governments, while they caused destruction

to Railway and other Central government property induces a strong presumption that the violent demonstrators believed that they had the support of the State authorities. The instability of many State governments after the last general elections, the conduct of mini-general elections and the growing lawlessness in the country indicate that the Constitution is inadequate in this respect. There is an urgent need to frame guide lines for Governors in this respect.

Central Intervention

The rampant defection politics, the break-up of the Congress at the national level and such other situations have given rise to serious political and constitutional issues. Whether the Centre should intervene wherever necessary in the larger interest of the country? Though central intervention cannot be avoided, yet at the same time this may lead to a tendency on the part of the Centre to intervene only to punish non-Congress States or States, which do not fall in line with the ruling faction of the Congress at the Centre, in respect of Grants and maintain tighter control in all other respects. Such apprehensions are already being voiced in States like Mysore, Gujarat which are strongholds of the Organization Congress, as to their financial and other problems such as the border dispute between Mysore and Maharashtra. In India, since 1967, it has been witnessed that coalition governments have only helped to increase intrigues, suspicion and even conspiracy in the Centre-State relations and the relations among States themselves. Decline of Congress dominance has created a situation in which it is unlikely that any single party will be able to dominate the country's politics once again. Instead, different parties will try to dominate in coalition. But no party has shown any sign or even a likelihood of becoming so powerful as to muster necessary strength and acceptability, let alone dominating. State politics may not become responsive to national interest. One of the patent trends of the present day politics in respect of Centre-State relations is chronic regionalism, by which politics will become more and more dominated by regional interests and these regional interests will certainly clash with national interests. It is said that "India is a world in itself, each region having a golden age in its history which is the dark age for the other."

The suspension of the State Assembly and the imposition of President's rule in a State according to the Emergency provisions of the Constitution would be accepting a condition of political instability. Bihar is evidently under a long spell of President's rule. The last two years of continued political instability, preceded by two decades of Congress dominance have brought the State administra-

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tion and its finances to the verge of total collapse. The public debts which stood at Rs. 45 crores in 1950–51, have now touched the staggering figure of Rs. 600 crores.

Many are the lessons which are being learnt since 1967. Some Indians are inclined to think that it woid be desirable to adopt the Presidential system of the United States pattern, by which the Executive and the Legislature will function separately and autonomously and have a fixed term of life. The solution might appear reasonable, but it may pose other difficult problems. The deterioration in law and order in many parts of the country due to the violent activities of the extreme section of the Communists has reached a stage when it has to be put down with a firm hand. The student unrest has been assuming alarming dimensions. It has become a fashion for students to desert their classes and engage themselves in disorderly demonstrations on most frivolous pretexts. Political parties fiddle while the nation suffers. The conflict of Congress centre and non-congress states will definitely have its impact on Centre state relations; and above all the split in the Congress party itself will seriously impair the Centre-State relations. The sorry spectacle of ministers themselves encouraging and welcoming lawlessness as necessary for evolving the so-called order poses a grave threat to Centre-State relations. Ministers have no business to join *Morchas, Dharanas* etc.

Repercussions of a Divided Congress Party on Centre-State Relations

With the Resolution of the Congress Working Committee, removing the Prime Minister from the primary membership of the Indian National Congress and calling upon the Congress Parliamentary Party to elect a new leader, the break up of the Congress into two organizations has become a fact. The split which occured at the time of the Presidential election has led to the vivisection of the great Organization. The repercussions may be more serious in Uttar Pradesh. While States like Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Kashmir, Haryana, Punjab, Maharashtra etc., are with the ruling Congress Party, the Chief Ministers and the P.C.Cs in Gujarat, Mysore find themselves in opposition to the Union Government. Even in legislatures where Congress is in a minority, a split among them may have important consequences as either or both the groups may be willing to join coalitions of the right or left.

The situation in which the present break up has taken place makes it difficult to visualise the outcome and doubts are expressed whether there shall be any Centre-State relations at all! The Centre-State relations shall be determined, as the present trend shows, by political considerations. The way the Chief Ministers have worked

during the crisis shows that some States can grow at the cost of the Centre, and this is worked out more on the 'politics of opportunism,' while conformity with constitutional principles and healthy conventions do not seem to be given the due importance. Political ends and political factions seem to be the guiding factors for Centre-State relations hereafterwards. The Congress, by maintaining for over two decades a semblance of unity and discipline and functioning under the powerful leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, was able to render signal service in this respect. It had a great chance to conduct especially the Centre-State relations. It is remarked that "the Congress snake is eating its own tail, a long tail indeed." The rift at the Centre is likely to be exploited by States for exacting decisions from the Centre in their favour. The Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute, Telangana issue, Chandigarh issue are some instances. These have further implications; and the greatest and the foremost casualty will be political stability in the country. Coalition ministries will be the order of the day from the Centre down to the States. When such rifts and a steady decline of standards in the political life of the country are the order of the day, the future of the country's political life is very bleak. Apart from the fact that the legislative, administrative and other relations and activity between the Centre and the States coming to a stand-still, it will be a severe blow to the very existence of the parliamentary form of government which is enshrined in our Constitution. A time might come, sooner or later, to change the constitutional pattern itself.

Regionalism has weakened national political parties which is another threat to the Centre-State relations. Political leaders are more regional than national in their thinking and actions. With this, the problem of maintaining party discipline on a national scale has almost become impossible. Even the late Prime Minister Nehru used to say: "inside the Congress itself this tribalism is stronger than the whole party." He spoke of Congress being 'poisoned to the very core'. The trend to-day seems to be one of national leaders depending for their strength solely on the regional leaders. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's reliance on the D.M.K. in the Parliament is a case in point. It is a patent fact that new regional elites and caste lobbies are getting greater and greater control of all political life, regional as well as national. The Congress and the Communist Party of India have become political expressions of this trend. But the only difference between the Congress and the Communist Party of India is that the C.P.I. never had a leader of the stature of Gandhi or Nehru or even Lal Bahadur Shastri.

It is true that real and effective power lies with regional leaders and consequently its effects are felt in Centre-State relations. This

particular factor, it may be contended, makes the task of Centre-State relations more difficult than any other single factor, because the regionalist need own neither defeat nor victory.   Defeat may serve to him as incitement to new vengeance; victory to new aggrandisement.

Conclusion

Some pertinent and meaningful conclusions are called for at this stage in respect of Centre-State relations. The first point which strikes ones mind pertains to the question whether it would be appropriate to suitably amend the Constitution of India so as to fill the gaps that have come to knowledge in the light of the working of the Centre-State relations in the course of over two decades.   It is interesting to note that none of the leftist opposition parties, some of whom have come to power in the states today, had a hand and an effective say in the making of the present Constitution.   They were a microscopic minority in the Constituent Assembly of India.   The heart and soul of the Constitution was of Congress inspiration. Therefore, the provisions pertaining to Centre-State relations in the Constitution reflect the thinking of the arch conservatives, and at the most a socialist like Nehru, who made up the Constituent Assembly.   On this score a suitable amendment of the Constitution appears to be an imperative necessity.

However, the present crisis in the Congress Party at the Centre and in the States makes it extremely difficult to amend the Constitution.   This could take place only if there is political leadership of high quality, with mature wisdom and sagacity.   Moreover, any active co-operation of the other opposition parties like the Jan-Sangh, the Swantantra and other like-minded parties is necessary for this purpose.

In the event, only one alternative could be thought of, and that is, the development of sound and healthy conventions in the political and constitutional life of the country.   Given a happy Centre-State relationship, there should be no doubt that the relationship between the States and the Centre could be harmonised to foster rapid economic development of the country.   It is time that the leaders of various political parties at the Central and the States level realised this and play their roles in the larger interests of the country.

NEOLITHIC CULTURAL PATTERNS AND MOVEMENTS IN NORTH MYSORE STATE

A. SUNDAR

The region in which the neolithic cultural patterns and movements are considered, comprises the major part of north Mysore State, popularly known as North karnatak. It lies in between Lat. 15°.0—18°.20 N and Long. 74°.0–78°.45 E and comprises six districts, viz, Dharwar, Bellary, Raichur, Gulbarga, Bijapur and Belgaum. Geographically, it is quite interesting as it is drained all over by one of the major river systems of India, the Krishna in the middle and her tributaries: the Bhima and the Don on the north and the Ghataprabha, the Malaprabha and the Tungabhadra on the south. In general, south of Krishna, there are four main bands of Dharwar rocks (with auriferous quartz reefs and haematite quartzites rich in iron, as at Hatti and Hospet, respectively for instance) with rocks of Peninsular gneissic complex in between, appearing on the surface either as ranges of castellated and terraced hills or isolated bouldery knobs, intruded by innumerable dykes of dolerites etc. North of Krishna, it is of Deccan trap mostly plain with rounded plain hills here and there. In the middle of the region are sedimentary rocks of sand-stones, quartzites, conglomerates and limestones, in two successive but unconnected series: the Kaladgis and the Bhimas occuring as inliers and outliers. The Peninsular gneissic area is generally covered with brownish sandy or red soil and the Deccan trap area, with thickly black cotton soil. The Bhima and the Krishna valleys are, especially with their alluvial soil, most fertile. Excepting the south-western part of the region where the rainfall is heavy (about 100 cm), it is moderate throughout, i.e. about 40 to 60 cm, per annum.

The cherty beds of the limestones of the Kaladgis and the Bhimas, the deposits of chalcedony, agate of the trap area, the trap and the dolerites as excellent raw materials for lithic tools, the perennial water supply, the terraced castellated hills and fertile river valleys, provided congenial environment for the neolithic economy to flourish. The plains, the hill-systems and the orientations of the rivers particularly the Bhima and the Tungabhadra, were most favourable for mutual cultural contacts with those of the Godavary valley and further north and of the Kavery valley in the south.

Ever since Bruce Foote[1], a number of neolithic sites[2] have been noticed and explored in this region, especially in the Raichur Doab. Sanganakallu[3], Piklihal[4] and Maski[5] were vertically excavated. Brahmagiri is only about 30 or 35 Km. south of Sanganakallu. Recently, the entire stretch of the Tungabhadra in the region was surveyed[6].

About seventeen neolithic sites were discovered, of which Tekkalakota[7] and Hallur[8] were also excavated. The author had the opportunity to explore considerable parts of the Bhima, the Don, the Krishna, the Ghataprabha and the Malaprabha valleys, and discovered as many as one hundred fifty neolithic sites in them (Fig. 1). Consequently evidences in the form of pottery and lithic tools from all parts of the river valleys of the entire region, through systematic explorations and excavations have been so much accumalated that it is now possible to examine the neolithic cultural patterns and movements as suggested by different pottery traditions and their spatial distributions. However, the study can now be only on the pottery styles and the stone tool complexes. Other aspects of the culture/s such as burial customs etc. etc. can not be fully reviewed as the region is not thoroughly covered by way of excavations. At the moment, from these explorations and excavations, four distinct pottery groups can be recognised. In the following pages, therefore, the various neolithic cultural strains as shown by the characteristic potteries and their geographical extent of distributions, are discussed.

By way of introduction, it is recalled here, that the excavations at Brahmagiri[9] and Maski[10], have revealed that the material components of the neolithic culture there are: generally the greyware pottery, neoliths of dolerites, parallelsided blades and microliths made on chert largely etc. There are also pre-firing black-on-red painted pottery, post-firing ochre painted pottery and pottery with pre-firing incised designs, the herring bone pattern being the most common. All these are of the same fabric as that of the plain greyware. Copper or bronze objects are found to have been in use but in a very small measure. The characteristic features and types of these cultural equipments, have been elaborately described in the respective excavation reports. What is noteworthy here, in particular, is the presence of the black-on-red painted pottery in the earliest levels only and its utter absence in the remaining levels forming the major bulk of the cultural deposits. Secondly the quantity of the painted pottery is proportionately quite small. The types and the painted designs are still fewer and simple. This painted pottery is different in fabric from those of the Jorwe fabric and of the Malwa, of the Godavary and the Narmada, respectively.

The excavations at Piklihal[11] also revealed an exactly similar story with regard to this painted pottery. But here, a very few black-on-red painted sherds were found, in the uppermost layers also and on the surface of the site. This pottery was found to be different in fabric from those found in the lowest layer, and more akin to the painted pottery of Jorwe fabric. Allchin recognised clear distinctions between these two kinds of pottery[12] and designated them AB ware

NEOLITHIC AND CHALCOLITHIC
SITES IN
NORTH MYSORE STATE

J.C.M. = 12 K.M.

REFERENCE

PLAIN AND PAINTED RED WARE OF JORWE FABRIC & BLACK-AND-RED WARE
PLAIN AND PAINTED GREY WARE OF MALKI FABRIC
PLAIN AND PAINTED RED AND GREY WARE OF SAVALDA FABRIC
GREY WARE OF T.NARSIPUR FABRIC
DISTRICT HEAD-QUARTERS
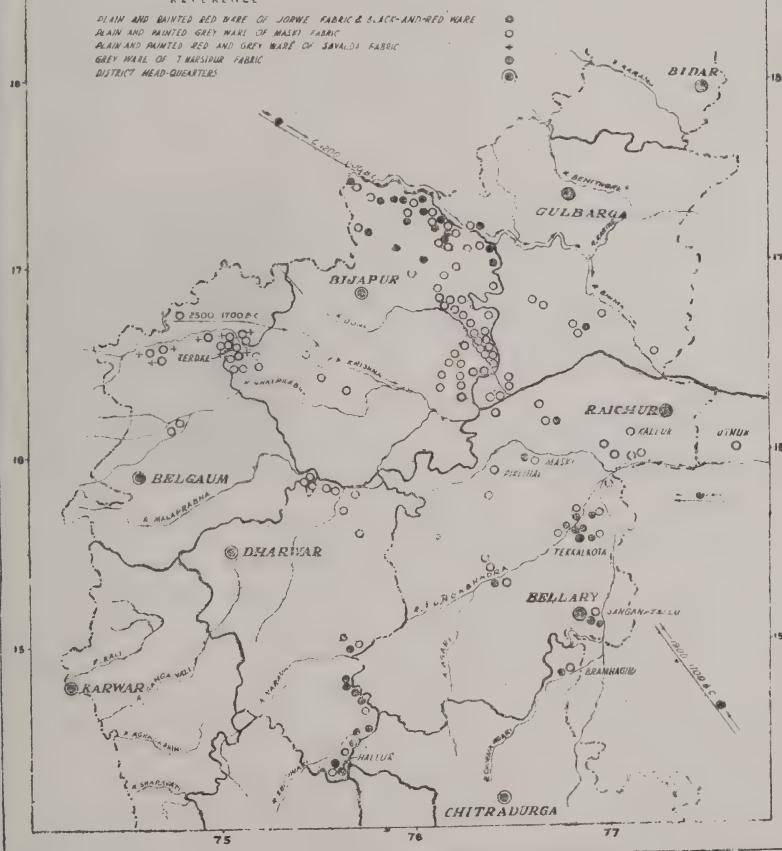
and A3 painted ware respectively. Earlier Subba Rao obtained, in his excavations at Sanganakallu, very few sherds of the black-on-red painted ware potsherds from the topmost layers of the neolithic[13], which he later on described as wheel-made black-on-red painted pottery of the chalcolithic phase. In Tekkalakota[14] and Hallur[15] too, a few sherds of the painted pottery of Jorwe fabric, were present only in the uppermost levels of the neolithic and on the surface. While the painted pottery of the earlier phase is not reported to have been found at Sanganakallu and Tekkalakota, a fragment of a painted bowl,[15a] was got from the lower neolithic site of Hallur.

The painted pottery of the latest phase, from all the excavations, were very few and the types and the painted designs, still fewer. They were interpreted to be instances of the intrusion[16] of the chalcolithic culture of the Godavary valley into the neolithic of the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab in the later phase of the latter. But actually the range and the course of the intrusion, were not vindicated from these evidences.

From these well observed data it is evident that there was a painted pottery tradition from the beginning of the neolithic culture and in view of its fabric it was part and parcel of the local culture. But it is curiously enigmatic as to why the painted pottery tradition was abruptly given up altogether soon after the beginning of the settlements in all these sites, when the plain pottery of the same fabric and other cultural milieu continued till the end. The recent discoveries of neolithic sites[17] in the upper Krishna and in the Bhima valleys, by the author seem to offer solution to the above problem and also have given clues regarding the route and extent of the intrusion suggested by the painted pottery of Jorwe fabric.

As many as 33 sites in about 18 localities in the upper Krishna, 94 sites in the lower Krishna-Bhima-Don river valleys, 15 in the Ghataprabha and the Malaprabha and 5 in the Tungabhadra were discovered by the author. In all these sites are found greyware pottery, neolithic tools and parallel-sided blades, fluted cores, etc. The antiquities are intimately analogous to those of Maski, Brahmagiri etc. Besides these antiquities, in the sites of the upper Krishna, black-on-red painted pottery of Brahmagiri IA kind and in the sites of the Bhima typical black-on-red painted pottery of Jorwe fabric abundantly occur.[18] The greyware pottery of especially the upper Tungabhadra valley, in types and fabric, are closely akin[19] to those of T. Narasipur and Nagarjunakonda. In the Bhima-Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab, all these are together found in many of the sites suggesting the intrusions of the above various cultural strains there. On the basis of the occurrences of these particular kinds of antiquities especially the

potteries in different parts of the region, the sites may broadly be classified into mainly three groups:

    I.   The sites of the upper Krishna.

    II.   ,,   ,,   ,, Tungabjadra.

    III.   ,,   ,,   ,, Bhima and the Don.

I. The Sites of the Upper Krishna

In these sites[19a] are found greyware pottery and parallel sided blades and fluted cores in plenty. Neoliths are sparse. That copper was in use by the authors of this culture, is evidenced by the occurrence of a copper bangle in a neolithic burial[20] in Terdal associated with the late phase of this culture. The greyware pottery is closely similar to that of Maski-I, in fabric and types. The culture is in the chalcolithic stage.

These sites have some significant features observed by the author which are as follows:

1.   There is a very heavy concentration of sites in comparison to that of Bhima-Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab and of the Bhima, the Ghataprabha, the Malaprabha and the Tungabhadra. Occurrence of two or three sites in the revenue limits of one locality, is common. In Kudchi, e.g., there are five sites two with remnants of ash mounds. In the other river valleys two or three sites in a single locality is unusual.

2.   The sites are much more extensive in area about 8 to 10 acres in most of the cases, whereas those of the other river valleys, with the exception of a few sites like Watgal, Maski, Tekkalakota, here and there, they are usually 2 to 3 acres in area.

3.   Occurrence of black-on-red painted pottery of Brahmagiri IA (or A3 painted) kind, in comparatively large quantity.

4.   Occurrence of plain and painted pottery, in some of these sites, analogous to the Savalda pottery, in considerable number for the first time noticed in this region.

5.   Occurrence of grey and buff ware pottery[20a] of fine core, entirely different from the other greyware pottery, for the first time noticed in this region, in considerable number only in two sites; Asangi and Kallolli (Jamkhandi Tk., Bijapur Dt.), but as sprinklings in the others.

The black-on-red painted pottery has a bearing on the above problem of the painted pottery of Brahmagiri IA kind. For immediate understanding of the abundant presence of the painted pottery in these sites, the number of painted sherds collected in the course of surface explorations of some of the sites each, is given below:

1.	Terdal	..	455 nos.
2.	Satti	..	75 ,,
3.	Haravgeri	..	85 ,,
4.	Saptasagara	..	80 ,,

Of course Terdal was explored for about half a dozen times and sometimes by a group of four or five local persons. This apparently accounts for the big number. However, the big number is really not due to the number of times or persons, but due to the richness of the pottery itself, For, utmost circumspect explorations for a prolonged time of any known site in the valleys of Krishna further downwards and of her tributaries, may produce a very small number of painted sherds. In fact, a few of the sites were explored twice by the author with a local person, but could get only four or five sherds in each case. The sum and substance of this is that the painted pottery in question occurs in greater frequency in the above sites, but becomes occasional in the other sites. It may also be noted that a few of the sites of the upper Krishna itself are not rich in the painted pottery e.g. Sasalhatti, Mugalkhod.

The Painted Pottery: Its Fabric, Types and Painted Designs

The fabric of the pottery is, as mentioned above, similar to that of Maski-I[21] and of Brahmagiri IA[22]. It is of medium to coarse blackish grey core and of uneven thickness. The interior is sometimes undulated suggesting its being hand-made or has hap-hazard striation marks indicating the use of slow wheel. The core and the slip is largely micaceous. The slip on the exterior is often burnished and blackish grey, grey, chacolate, buff, pinkish buff and red. It is generally absent on the interior. Irrespective of the colours of the slip, the painting is violet or blackish purple.

Even though there are a large number of rim fragments in the collections the types are a few. Vases with outcurved rim, concave neck (pl. I. No. 6) or outturned (pl I, No. 8) or everted rim (pl. II, Nos. 1×3) and carinated neck and with expanding shoulders are most common. Sometimes the neck is narrow (pl. II No. 11.)

The designs are by far the most varied and sometimes wild. They are executed on the rims and shoulders. Broadly they may be grouped as under:

1. Simple geometrical designs: Parallel oblique, or vertical lines or strokes, criss-cross (plate I Nos. 8 pl. II Nos. 1-3) parallel oblique lines in between horizontal lines, (pl I, No. 3). Examples of this kind occur at Brahmagiri, Maski and Piklihal.

2. Complicated designs: Too complicated for description (pl. II Nos. 4-12). They may consist of vertical; wavy, thick, parallel lines having pointed ends with sets of curved or vertical parallel short lines

on sides (pl II, No. 8) or set of parallel lines proceeding from a thick curved line (pl II Nos, 6,7.); ovals with hatched or criss-cross interior and with thick solid bands having pointed ends (pl II Nos. 10 & 12); oblique hatched wavy wide bands with inverted boat like designs on the sides and vertical wavy bands in between (pl II No. 11.) etc. Whether they represent anything other than curious fanciful designs are difficult to ascertain owing to their fragmentary condition. Examples of this variety, have not so far been reported from other sites.

3. These are finely drawn lines: thick horizontal or oblique parallel lines with short lines branching off from it on opposite sides probably at regular intergals, like the fins of fish (pl I No. 13, 17.). If there are two parallel lines, the branches of these intersect each other (pl I, No. 11.) There is some precision in the designs as if drawn with precision instruments. The designs are quite simple. There are no varieties.

4. Representations of birds such as cranes (pl. I No. 10.).

The last two are rare in the sites. Also, they are not reported from other sites.

In occurrence the first is much more than the second and the last two are few and far between. Some of the designs of the first and of particularly the second do not have parallels from any known painted pottery of other regions of India.

Other Painted Potteries

Besides the black-on-red painted pottery there are also found white-on-red or grey painted pottery and pre-firing pink or brownish red (ochreous?) painted pottery, both of the same fabric as that of the black-on-red painted pottery, occuring in a very restricted scale. The white paintings are dull, rather of thick film as if of glue, like those of the chalcolithic white painted black-and-red ware. The designs are very simple: parallel or single vertical or horizontal lines. No shapes in this were available.

To sum up: The density of the settlements, the large extent of many of them and exuberance of the culture reflected in the painted pottery tradition, evidently suggest that the upper Krishna was the nucleus or within the proximity of the nucleus of the culture exposed in Piklihal lower neolithic, Maski-I and Brahmagiri IA. As one moves along the Krishna towards the Bhima-Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab, there is gradual weakening of the cultural impulses that explains for the lesser density, smallness of the settlements and infrequency and subsequent disappearance of the painted pottery. Beyond the Doab at Nagarjunakond in the same Krishna valley, there is practically no painted pottery. It appears, therefore, that the Doab forms more or less the periphery of the culture of the upper Krishna.

The easternmost site so far known with this painted pottery, is Utnur in the Doab, in Andhra Pradesh.

The earliest phase, at Utnur, containing the painted pottery, is dated to 4120±150.[24] After due consideration Allchin found that Piklihal lower neolithic corresponded[25] to the dated lower level of Utnur and suggested a date range of 2000–1250 B.C. for the former.[26] Further westwards along the Krishna, the lowest levels of the culture at Kodekal near the confluence of the Don and the Krishna, is dated to 2460±105 B.C.[27] But the C-14 dating of charcoal samples from the lowest layer no. 3 in between a depth 45-65 cm from Terdal is 3615±120 (3720±120)[28].

These datings obviously show that the beginning of the culture in question is earlier in the Doab than in the upper Krishna which in turn suggests that the Doab was the nucleus of the culture and the upper Krishna received it. But the archaeological evidences of the Doab and of the upper Krishna do not agree with the possible inference on the basis of the C-14 datings. After all, there is only one dating for the upper Krishna sites. Secondly, there are instances that different samples from the same context, give different datings[29] having a difference of two to three hundred years among themselves. Thirdly, Terdal is a disturbed site. Only lowest two layers (2) and (3) were available undisturbed, layer (1) being the surface humas under cultivation. Layer (2) is loose highly cloddy and poor in antiquities, suggesting probably water stagnation and the consequent temporary desertion of the site owing to the over-flow of the water of the Krishna nearby. Possibly, the stagnation of water had some effect on the charcoal bits of the underlying layer. Anyway some more datings are required from this area for certainty. On the basis of relatively greater frequency of the painted pottery and their variety and other factors discussed above, the author at the time of sending the charcoal samples in question for dating he proposed a date range of 2300–2100 B.C. for the begining of the culture of the upper Krishna.

In these sites there occurs a kind of red-on-black painted pottery, very occassionally. This pottery is found in the lowest levels of Kayatha, dated to 2200–2000 B.C.[30]

The clay used for the micaceous pottery of the upper Krishna culture, seems to have come from the clayey deposits of the disintegrated sand stones of the Kaladgi series. From a pit dug for clay for pottery near a village near Mahagoan (Dt. Kolhapur), the micaceous clay and its various shades of colours such as ashy grey, blackish-grey, pinkish and reddish buff, are so closely similar to that of the pottery and the colours of its slip that the latter apparently must have been made of the former. A scientific examination of the clay before and after firing, however, should establish if it is so.

In consideration of the above explanations, the lonely C-14 dating of Terdal does not seem to have much weight in considering the direction of the movement of the culture. More dates are required to decide the issue.

Thus, somewhere between 2300–2000 B.C., there was a cultural diffusion from the upper Krishna region along the Krishna into the Doab. The upper Krishna sites on the one hand and Brahmagiri IA, Maski-I, Piklihal lower neolithic (and utnur lowest levels) on the other are the two present known extremeties, the former and the latter being the focal and the peripheral zones.

Ia. Cultural Diffusion Represented by the Savalda Pottery

In only some[30a] of the sites of the upper Krishna, situated on the bank of the river, there is another cultural strain indicated by a kind of painted and plain pottery altogether different from the pottery described above. This kind of pottery is found in the Tapi valley and is described as "Savalda ware"[31] named so after the locality of its first discovery by Sali. In the upper Krishna, Satti is a typical site of the Savalda pottery. Here, in addition to the black-on-red ware pottery, in the same fabric there are also, black on-grey, (Plate V; Nos 1-8) White-on-grey (plate V; Nos. 9-17) and brown-on-grey (plate V; Nos 18-27). potteries. Thus there are two distinct varieties of pottery: the redware and the grayware.

The redware is of medium to fine core often brick-red and sometimes black in the middle; uniformly medium to thick in section and usually bright deep red slipped often burnished. The unslipped interior shows distinct, regular striation marks suggesting the use of fast wheel in making the pottery. Only some of the vessels like bowls with concave sided, carinated body and round bottom, (pl. III No. 7); dish-on-stand (pl. III, No. 2); vases with externally thickened rim, or collarred rim; carinated bodied vessels (pl. III, No. 17) and lids with convex top, flanged waist and short narrow hollow tubular bottom, a unique type, appear to be partly hand made. The paintings are pre-firing and voilet or blackish violet in colour. The designs are varied, clear, simple and finely executed as if with precision instruments, on the rims and shoulders of the vessels. Elongated dots in horizontal or oblique rows (pl. IV. Nos. 1-5); chains (pl. IV, Nos. 13, 14); ropes (pl. IV. No. 12.); criss-cross (pl. IV,Nos. 8,9.); zigzags (pl.IV, Nos. 15,16); groups of parallel curved lines meeting each others; parallel oblique lines with pointed ends; arrows (pl. IV. Nos. 4,6; harpoons (pl. III, No.8); plant (?) (pl. III, No.2.) and realistic (pl. IV, No. 22) and conventionalised fish. (pl. III, Nos. 7,9) the last three occurring considerably frequently.

The greyware has the slip usually in grey and occasionally in black or buff or chocolate. The slip is infrequently burnished. The monochrome paintings are executed in jet black, or white or reddish brown. The white paintings are clearly white in thin layer unlike the dull glue like white paintings of the other ware described above. In this variety only lids and vases in fragments could be got. The painted designs are quite few, simple, but fine like those on the redware. They are parallel, vertical or oblique lines. This pottery is not as frequent as the redware, and occurs in a few sites only.

The Savalda pottery in the above two varieties, is found only upto Terdal and not beyond along the Krishna downwards or in the valleys of her tributaries. It, thus does not seem to have penetrated into the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab. However, sprinkling of this pottery may be found in some of the sites of the other groups.

NOTES

1. Bruce Foote : *The Foote collection of Indian prehistoric and proto-historic antiquities*: *Notes on their ages and distribution,* Madras pp. 77–97, 1916.

2. *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Deptt. of H. E. H., the Nizam's Dominions, for the years* 1927-28, 1935-37, and 1938-39. IAR-1957-67: *Explorations in Mysore State.*

3. Subba Rao B. : *Stone Age Cultures of Bellary,* Poona: 1948.

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5. Thapar B. K. : "*A Maski 1954*: *A Chalcolithic Site of the Southern Deccan*", *Ancient India* (AI) No. 13, PP. 4-143, 1957.

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7. Ibid. :

8. IAR-1964-65. : (Cyclostyled copy) pp. I-57-58.

9. Wheeler R. E. M. : "*Brahmagiri and Chandravalli 1947*: *Megalithic and other cultures in the Chitaldrug District, Mysore State, AI* No. 4 PP. 202-207; 222-232, 245-254; 267-268 etc. 1947-48.

10. Thapar B. K. : 1957, op. cit.

11. Allchin, F. R. : 1960, op. cit PPxv, 52-57 & 58-60.

12. Ibid.

13. Subba Rao, B. : 1948, op. cit, p. 15, 16, and Subba Rao, B; 1958: *The Personality of India,* P. 80.

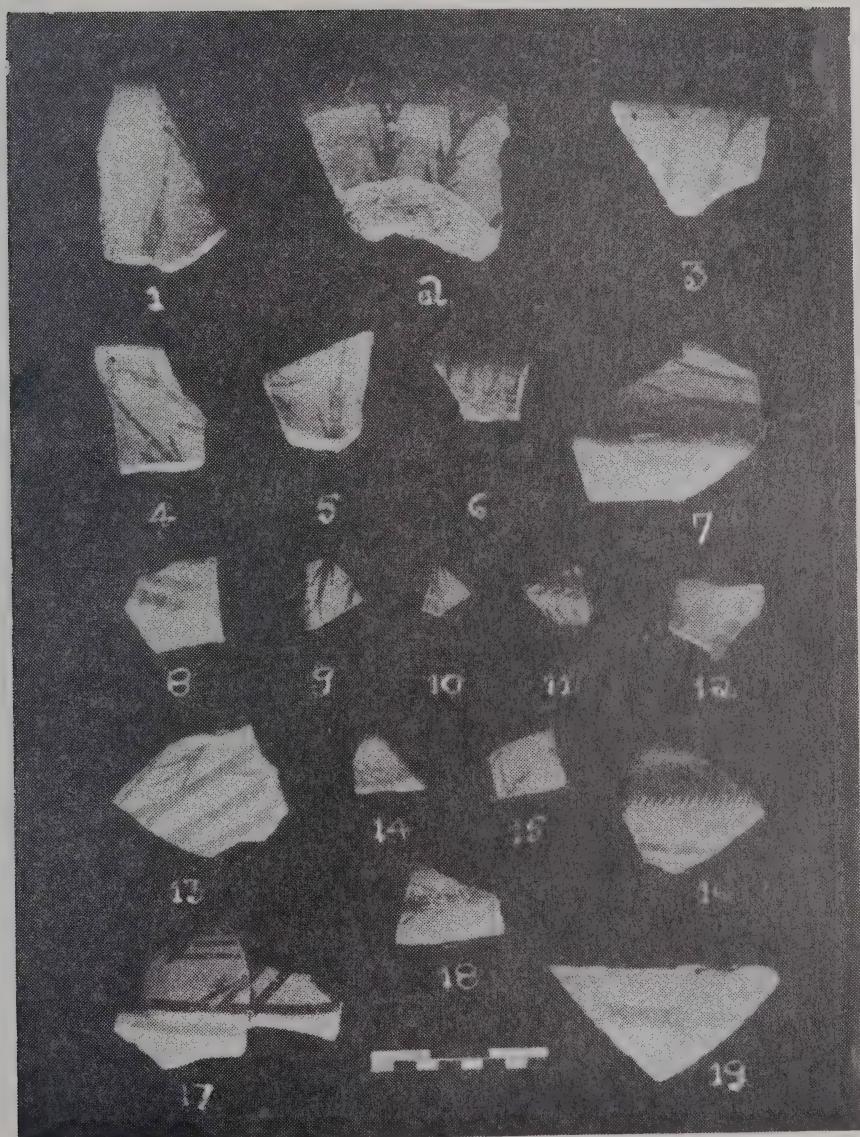14. Nagarja Rao M. S. & et. al. : 1965- P. 49.

PLATE I
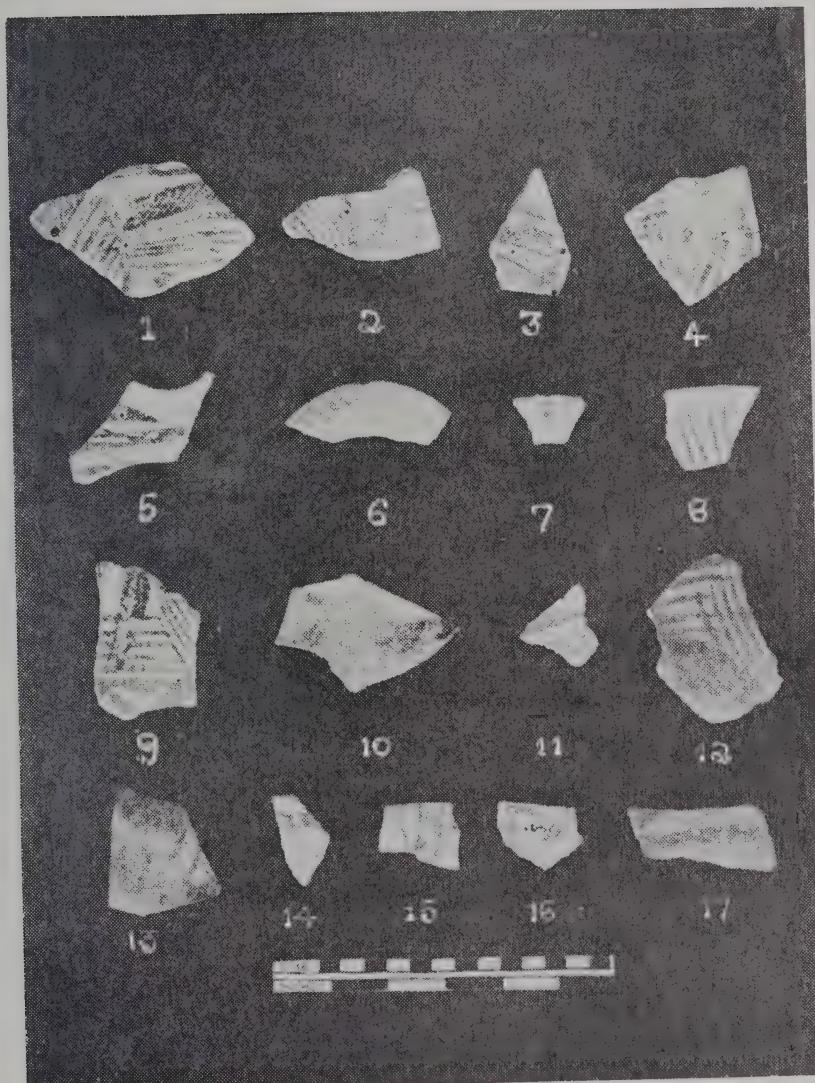
BELGAUM AND BIJAPUR DISTRICTS;
Black–on–red painted pottery of Maski Fabric
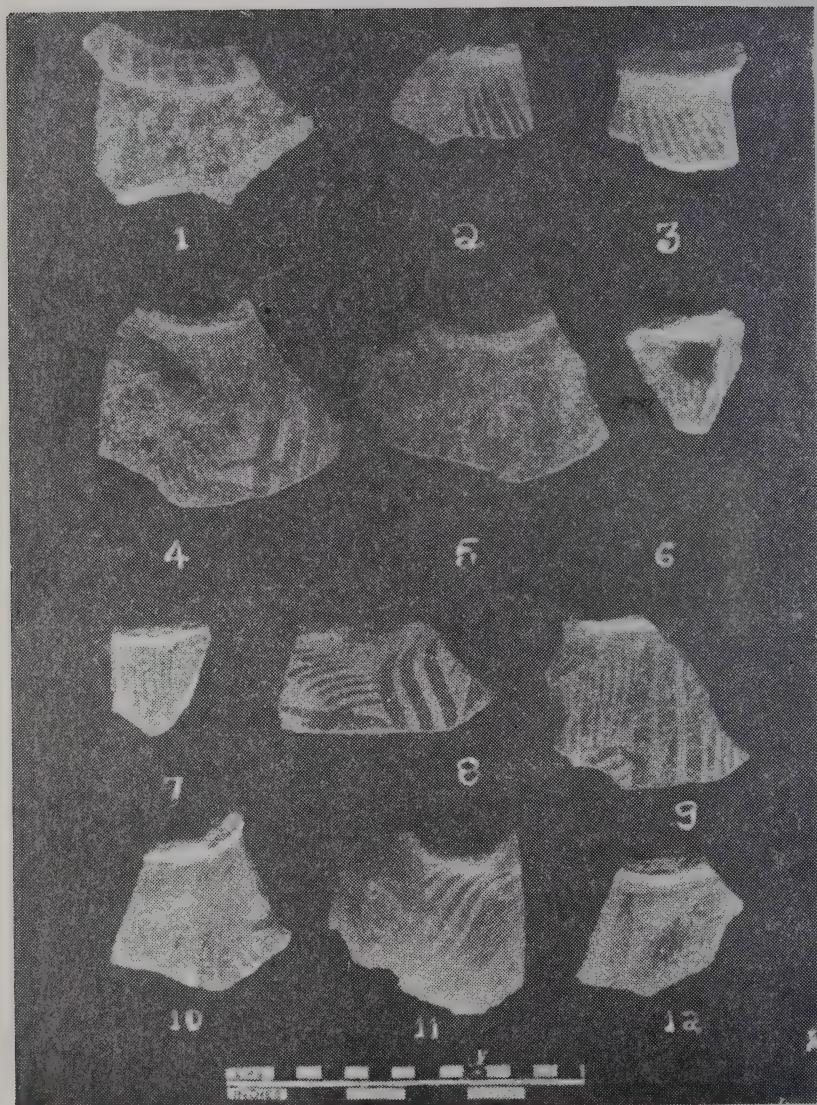
PLATE II

BELGAUM AND BIJAPUR DISTRICTS;
Black–on–red painted pottery of Maski Fabric
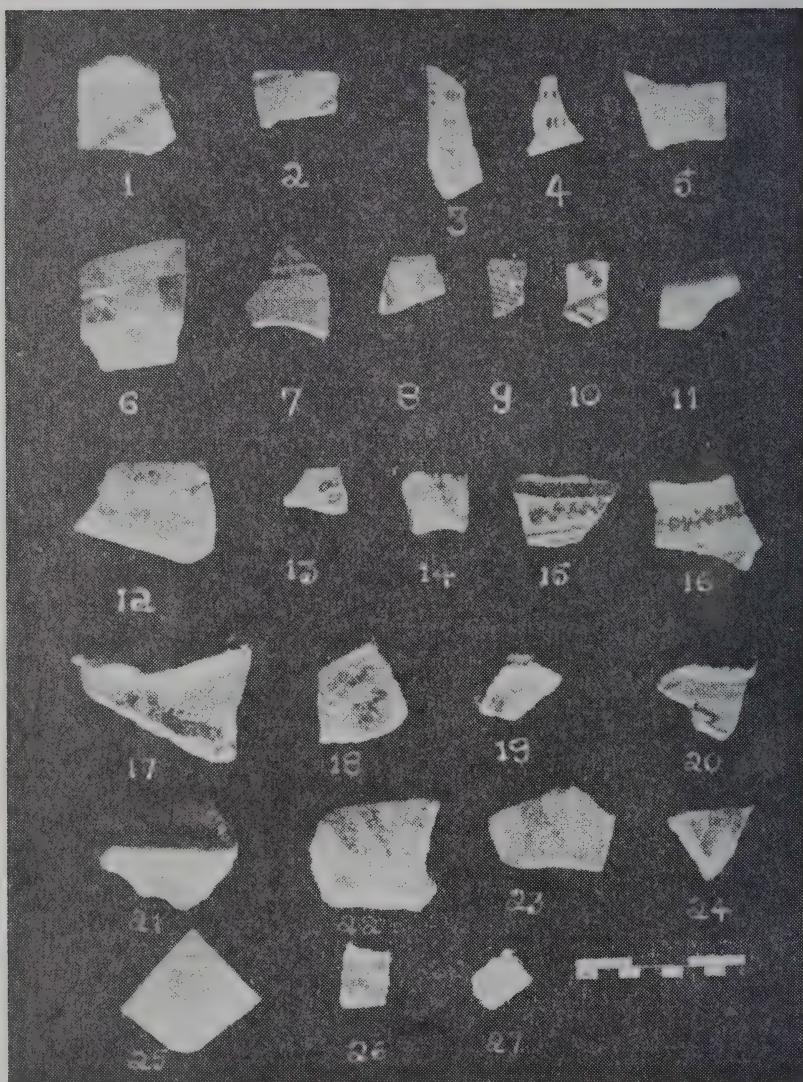
PLATE III

BELGAUM AND BIJAPUR DISTRICTS;
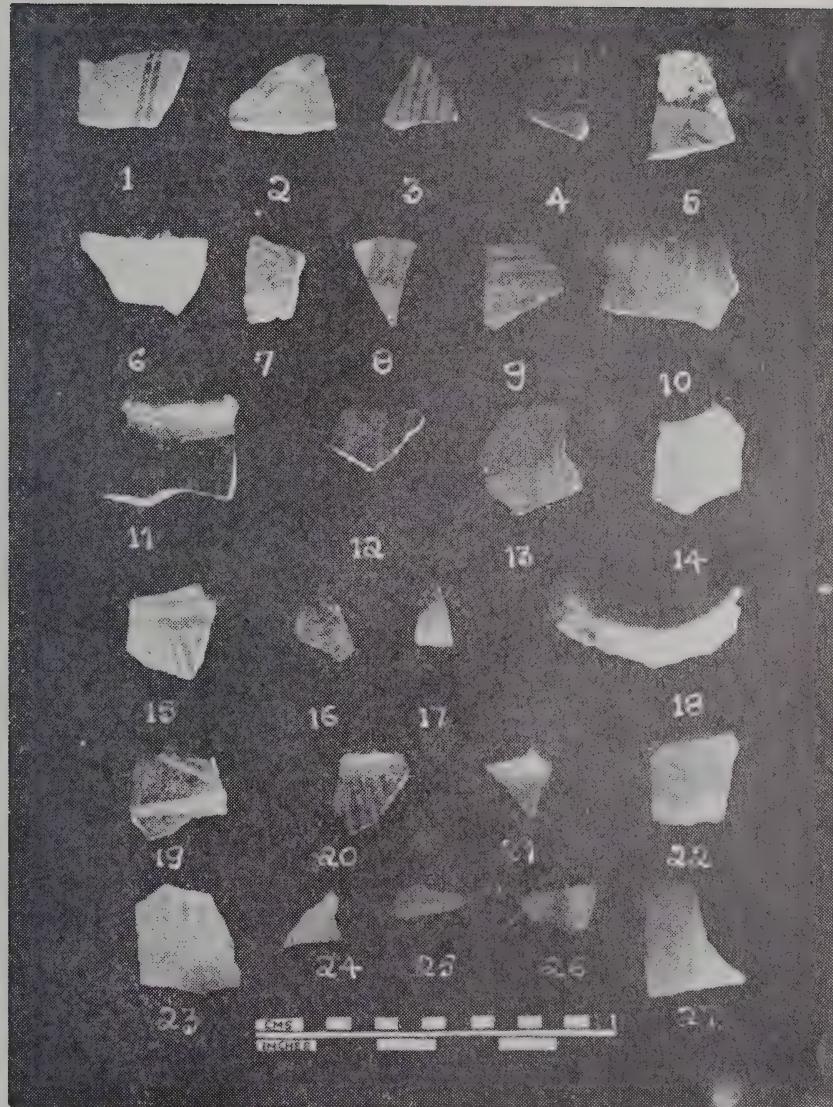Black–on–red painted pottery of Savalda Fabric

PLATE IV

BELGAUM AND BIJAPUR DISTRICTS;
Black–on–red painted pottery of Savalda Fabric

PLATE V

BELGAUM AND BIJAPUR DISTRICTS

Black–on–grey (Nos. 1–white–on–grey Nos. 9–17) and Brown–on–grey (Nos. 18–27)
painted pottery of Savalda Fabric

15.   IAR-1964-65 PP I-58.

15*a*.   The author participated in the excavations at Hallur throughout. He is extremely thankful to Dr. H. D. Sankalia, P. B. Desai and M. S. Nagaraj Rao for kind permission to refer to the painted bowl.

16.   Allchin F. R.   :   1960: *op.cit.* 136.

17.   IAR-1965-66. *Explorations in the Dts. Belgaum & Bijapur.*

18.   IAR-1964-65, P. I-58 and as per author's further collections and study.

19.   Author's observation on the finds from the excavations there see IAR-1964-65, P. I-30.

19*a*. Sundara A: "Proto Historic Sites in Bijapur District", *The Journal of The Karnatak University—Social Sciences*, Vol IV, April '68 p. 19, No. VIII.

20.   Excavated by the author The report is being prepared for, publication.

20*a*.   This pottery is found in only two sites: Asangi and Kallolli, Jamkhandi Taluka, Bijapur Dt. The evidence is too meagre to know if it represents a different cultural movement. Hence for the moment, it is not considered here.

21.   Thapar B. K.   :   1957, op. cit. P. 38.

22.   Wheeler R. E. M.   :   1947-48 op.cit. PP. 222 & 224.

23.   Allchin, F. R.   :   *Utnur Excavations Andhra-Pradesh Archaeological Series, No. 5 Hyderabad,* 1960a:

24.   Ibid.

25 & 26.   Allchin, F. R.   :   op.cit. P. 121 & 129 respectively.

27.   Information kindly given by Sri. K. Paddayya, Research Scholar of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona. The author is extremely thankful to him.

28.   List of the Radio-Carbon dates for July, 67 received by the author.

29.   Nagaraja Rao-   :   1965: op.cit. p. xii The C-14 dates of the two samples
       M. S. et.al;   nos. T. F-402 & TF-398. both from the layer no. 35 of
                                   Kayatha Site, are 3240 ± 100) (3330 ± 100) and $3520\pm$
                                   100 (3625 ± 100).

30.   Information kindly given by Dr. H. D. Sankalia. The author is extremely thankful to him.

30a.   Examba; Haravageri; Kallolli; Kudchi; Sadalaga; Satti and Terdal.

31.   Sali S. A.   :   1964; "A new ceramic of the Chalcolithic from Dhulia
                                Dt. (Maharashtra State)" *Journ. Asia, Soc. Bombay,*
                                vol. 98, pp. 207-210 Pl I, figs. 2-5.

THE U. N. SECURITY COUNCIL—A CRITICAL ANALYSIS*

V. T. Patil

The aim of this paper is to analyse the weaknesses of the Security Council and to suggest ways and means to improve the functioning of this crucial organ of the United Nations.

The original emphasis in the United Nations Organization was upon the Security Council, for the primary interest of most persons was upon security. It is now a well-recognised proposition, that the Security Council, one of the principal executive organ of the United Nations, has not fulfilled the expectations of the framers of the Charter.

The ineffectiveness of the Security Council has been fully recognised by competent critics. "It has been said that the decline of the Security Council as the United Nations principal peace making organ and the emergence of the General Assembly is unquestionably the most significant constitutional development which has taken place in the United Nations."[1]

The Security Council today, has become an imperfect instrument for achieving the goals which the Charter asigns for it.

Therefore, any proposals for reorganisation must centre around the broad causes which account for the failure of the Security Council to play a meaningful role as envisaged in the Charter. Any study of the weaknesses of the Security Council must firstly concentrate on the 'Veto' as the primary factor in its paralysis. Next in importance is the question of the composition of the Security Council as prescribed in the Charter. The role of the Security Council in providing collective security to the member nations will also be examined.

I

The Veto

The Security Council has been endowed with the executive and representative functions in Chapter VII of the Charter, that is to say, when action is required with respect to threats to the peace, and acts of aggression. Under this heading, everyone of the permanent member of the Security Council holds an absolute veto on all matters, save those of procedure.

The privileged position of the world powers is defined more

1. C. M. Eichelberger: *U. N. The First Ten Years*, P. 15.

explicitly in legal terms. Everyone of the permanent members, remains a law unto himself.

In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, the Charter has vested in the Security Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Council has not been able, to discharge this responsibility as had been hoped; in fact, in dealing with questions involving important interests of the major powers, the Council has been largely ineffective. In many instances, it has been unable to take decisions because of differences among its permanent members, and it is widely claimed that this failure has been a result of voting procedure under Article 27 of the Charter, which allows a permanent member to veto any proposals, if it so desired, not procedural in nature.

An analysis of the political forces at work in the Security Council explains how the United Nations reflects some of the realities of world politics. The frequent use of the veto is, after all, simply a reflection of the current and basic conflicts of interest, among the major powers. Until there is a definite improvement in this situation, there is little hope that any voting procedure can be devised that will strengthen the Security Council to the point where it will, effectively discharge its fundamental responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The injurious consequences of the veto from a long term point of view are well indicated by Oppenheim: "One of the consequences of that inequality of voting power is that the ascertainment and enforcement by an overriding decision of the Council, of obligations of Pacific settlement and of International Law generally is legally possible only as against those members of the United Nations which are not permanent members of the Security Council. To that extent the relevent provisions of the Charter must be deemed to be contrary to the principle, which is of a fundamental character, that regardless of any other aspect of equality, all members of a political community ought to be equal before the law".[2] Purely on a theoretical consideration, the inequality of independent, sovereign states in respect of power and influence, which is the result of Great Powers being given permanent representation on the Security Council as also the veto power, cannot be sustained even as a principle of law.

The Great Powers by their permanent membership of the Council were to play a leading role in discharging their 'primary responsibility' because they could command vast industrial and economic resources. However, no important action on security matters could be taken without Great Power unanimity. In fact, the Charter provides for a kind

2. Oppenheim, *International Law*, Vol. 1, P. 246.

of equilibrium between majority power on the one hand, and veto power on the other.

The veto power covers a very wide field in the Charter. No important decision of the Security Council can be taken without the concurrence of the permanent members. "The U. N. would have been a much more rational and probably much more effective organization than it is to-day if the veto could be abolished altogether".[3] Unfortunately the veto power has become a part of the fundamental framework of the United Nations. Adlai E. Stevenson observed: "The veto itself is not the basic cause of our difficulties. It is only a reflection of the unfortunate and deep-seated differences with the Russians. Merely changing the voting formula will never be enough. We condemn the attempt to use the veto to circumvent the provisions of the Charter, but to argue from this premise that the rule should therefore be abolished, would be, as the French say, to throw out the baby with the bath".[4] Therefore, taking into account the realities of the world situation to-day, the abolition of the veto is an impractical proposition. "The practical problem is not the abolition of the veto but rather agreement as to the conditions under which it may be used".[5]

Over the years, many proposals have been put forth to restrict or altogether abolish the veto power.

(1) The permanent members should seek agreement on matters in regard to which they might 'forbear to exercise their veto power'.

(2) The permanent members should exercise their veto only when they considered the question to be of paramount importance, keeping in view the interests of the United Nations as a whole, and stating explicitly the grounds on which their decisions were based. The 'Big Powers' had given a pledge that the veto would be used. sparingly, which, of course, the permanent members have not respected.

(3) Elimination of the veto "in matters specifically concerning aggression and preparation for aggression", i.e. enforcement action.

The voting procedure in the Security Council has been criticised on many grounds, for e.g. it was unduly restrictive in the scope allowed for the use of the procedural vote; it violated the principle of 'sovereign equality', it greatly weakened the Security Council by creating

3. A. C. Bannerjee: *Revision of Charter of United Nations*, Calcutta, 1961, P. 137.

4. Quoted in Schuman F. L.: *International Politics*, New York, 1958, p. 233.

5. Norman D. Harper: 'Revision of the United Nations Charter–An Australian View' from *Revision of the United Nations Charter–A symposium*, Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, 1956, p. 5.

the likelihood that the Council would be unable to take decisions in the discharge of its responsibilities.[6]

The "Interpretative Statement" of the Great Powers of June 7, 1945 read in part as follows:

"It is not to be assumed that the permanent members, any more than the non-permanent members, would use their veto power wilfully to obstruct the operation of the Council." However, this expectation has not been borne out by later events. The veto has come as a handy tool to subserve the vested interests of each of the permanent powers. This 'over frequent' use of the veto has covered a very wide area.

Article 27 para 2 makes a distinction between procedural matters and other, i.e. substantive matters. 'Decisions'[7] on 'prodedural matters' are to be made by an affirmative vote of nine members. Hence the permanent members have no advantage at all over the non-permanent members; 'decisions' might be made by the votes of eight non-permanent and one permanent member.

The term 'procedural matters', however, has not been defined precisely in the Charter. This has led to endless wrangles in the Council as to what matters should be considered 'procedural'[8]. Certain well-recognised criteria should be evolved to overcome this hurdle to ensure the smooth functioning of the Security Council.

The veto is derived from Article 27(3) which reads as follows: "Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, the decision under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of the Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting".

This Article has raised some serious problems of conflicting and diverse interpretations. If a member of the Security Council is 'a party to a dispute' on which 'decisions' are to be taken, that member shall 'abstain from voting'. The obligation to abstain from voting relates only to 'disputes' and not to 'situations'. Now what exactly is the difference between a 'dispute' and a 'situation' is a matter of controversy.

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6. Goodrich and Hambro: *Charter of the United Nations*, pp. 215-220.

7. In early cases before the Security Council, the difficulty arose over determining what, under the Charter, constitutes a dispute. The Charter remains silent on the question who decides on whether a set of factors constitutes a situation or a dispute. Apart from this, who would be parties to the dispute, and whether the vote on this question should be regarded as procedural or not.

8. ". . . the question of whether a matter is one of procedure or of substance is itself a matter of substance and, as such, subject to the veto. In United Nations terminology this is known as double veto". Georg Swarzenberger: *Power Politics*, New York, 1954, p. 450.

The ambiguity is carried further, because the words 'the concurring votes of the permanent members is amenable to different interpretations. Kelsen raises this point. "Does it mean that concurring votes cast by the representatives of all the five permanent powers or only the concurring votes cast by representatives of the five permanent members present and voting?". Both these interpretations are possible.[9] In practice the Security Council has adopted a flexible position; absence of or abstention by a permanent member is not considered to have the effect of a negative vote or veto.

II

Composition of the Security Council

The Charter has been recently amended to provide for increased representation to the smaller nations. The strength of the Security Council has been augmented from eleven to fifteen.

The distinction between permanent and non-permanent members was because of two important considerations. (1) It was considered necessary to equip the Security Council with the teeth necessary for the maintenance of peace and also for the adoption of enforcement measures laid down in the Charter. It was obvious that the difficult and crucial task of maintaining peace was to depend primarily upon the 'Big Powers'. (2) If the 'Big Powers' were burdened with greater responsibilities than others, it was only fair that they should have a dominant position in the Security Council.

The principle behind the classification of members of the Security Council as permanent and non-permanent has not lost its validity even after more than two decades of U.N.'s existence. Permanent powers play a key role in the maintenance of world peace because they can command huge military and industrial resources.

Considering the fact that the Security Council should have some permanent members, several other issues crop up. What should be the number of permanent members and what should be their proportion to non-permanent members? There cannot be a rigidity about the number. The Security Council which is a sort of an executive body must be small enough to take quick and effective measures whenever called upon to do so. Further, it is held that the permanent members should be in a minority.

Another question connected with permanent membership is: What should be the guiding principle of selection? Assuming that Communist China gets its rightful place in the Security Council, then in terms of power politics, France and Great Britain may be classified

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9. Kelson: *The Law of the United Nations* pp. 239-244.

as typical middle powers. It is purely a matter of courtesy that they have been treated on par with the other three giants. It may be that France and Great Britain find a place as permanent powers in the Security Council as a reward for their role in the Second World War. But the present day realities are quite different. France and Great Britain definitely do not deserve 'Big Power' status. If population and size of a country is taken for the purposes of classification as a 'Big Power', then India should find a place in the Security Council as a permanent power. But unfortunately the compulsions of the 'cold war' have made the accomplishment of such a task doubly difficult.

Article 23(1) of the Charter provides that in the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council 'due regard' shall be "specially paid, to the contribution of the Members to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also equitable geographical distribution". Of the three norms laid down here, two–'the contributions of the members. . . .to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization'—are too vague to be amenable to correct judgement and therefore serve no useful purpose. The third one–equitable geographical distribution'–is more concrete, but it leaves much room for political adjustment and manouvre because in the U.N. geographic and political considerations have to be viewed together.

III

Collective Security and the Security Council

The Security Council is the guardian-in-chief of world peace. Its discretion as to what constituted a threat to peace or aggression is practically unfettered. It has all the appearances of an international executive organ. In order to prevent the aggravation of a situation which endangers the maintenance of peace or has led to its breach, the Security Council may call upon parties to a dispute to 'comply with much provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable'. (Article 40)

The Security Council decides on the application of economic sanctions, and on the type and scope of such measures.

Sould non-military sanctions prove to be inadequate, the Security Council 'may take such action by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security'. (Article 42).

Members are bound to "hold immediately available national air force contingents for combined international enforcement action" (Article 45).

A member against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from membership, and in the case of persistant violation of the principles of the Charter, it may be expelled by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. (Articles 5 and 6).

However, on closer examination, doubts begin to arise about the viability of the collective security system devised in the Charter.

Firstly, each of the permanent member has ensured that it shall remain the sole judge on whether it was to become involved in any enforcement action against an aggressor.

Secondly, in no circumstances, was the collective system to be able to take enforcement action against any world power without that power's consent.

Thirdly, suspension and expulsion require the concurrent votes of each of the permanent members of the Security Council. Which means that any of the permanent power could flout the Charter of the U. N. and get away with it without having to pay any price. It is no wonder therefore, that the Security Council has failed in settling such disputes as the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan, the Arab-Israeli dispute etc.

". . . . Collective security as understood at Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco, meant collective security against danger to peace from the middle powers and small states and collective insecurity in the face of aggression by any of the world powers.[10] Consequently, the security machinery of the U. N. would be inapplicable in fact even if it could be applied in law. The Security Council is a standing example and is a confession that the security system envisaged by the Charter of the United Nations has failed. The Security Council was meant to be the guardian of world peace, but the division of the world in two antagonistic halves and the stereotyped use of the veto by permanent powers condemns the Security Council to inaction.

IV

Proposals to strengthen the Security Council

Proposals have been made for strengthening the Security Council to enable it to perform more effectively the functions assigned to it by the Charter.

1. Abolition of veto completely and according equality in voting to all members of the Security Council.

2. Substitute for the requirement of absolute unanimity of all permanent members that of qualified unanimity by which the favour-

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10. Georg Swarzenberger: *Power Politics,* p. 510.

able votes of three or four of the permanent members could be necessary for a decision.

3. Restrict the use of the veto to clearly defined areas and eliminate it from the pacific settlement of disputes and the admission of the new members.

4. Alter the fundamental nature of the Security Council by substituting powers of recommendation for its present enforcement powers.

5. Strengthen further the role of the General Assembly by giving it enforcement powers.

Suggestions, first and second seem unacceptable to any of the permanent members because of the 'cold war'. Regarding restricting the use of the veto the U.S. has supported such a move. Of much importance than formal changes for the immediate future of the Security Council, would be the improvement of the Council proceedings by the use of informal techniques not requiring revision of voting procedure or composition.

Conclusion

The Security Council may indeed have an increasingly important role to play in the task of keeping the peace, provided that a discriminating choice is made by its members of the various instruments and techniques of diplomacy at its disposal. As a part of the evolution of the overall United Nation's machinery, it may yet become an active and vigorous guardian of the peace though it is not likely to achieve the stature envisaged by the architects of the U.N. Charter.

A NOTE ON INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OF A PRODUCT STRATEGY

C. M. KOTTURSHETTI

The scope of a company's product strategy planning depends fundamentally upon how much its research organisation knows about what it is technically possible to do with the available materials under the conditions which can be created by the equipment in the company's plants, or with new materials and equipment capable of creating conditions different from those obtainable by means of present production facilities.

Thus, to obtain the greatest possible scope in product strategy, a company must employ scientists who have a thorough knowledge of technical possibilities, and it must give them time, money, and equipment to carry on programmes which are designed primarily to get basic information. This activity is quite separate and distinct from the application of technical knowledge in the actual development of commercial products. By studying available scientific data, a scientist can predict with considerable assurance whether a set of conditions can be found to produce a certain result.

Industrial research is almost a must for healthy growth in any competitive field. In fact, research is frequently demanded to help develop new products, improve old ones, and keep abreast of competition. Today, a well-conceived plan of industrial research is characteristic of forward-looking management. It clearly indicates management's faith in the future and its desire to provide better products to meet changing consumer needs.

Industrial research, though expensive, often pays dividends in the form of better competitive positions and bigger profits. As a company grows and develops, a point is reached where most firms can no longer afford to follow and imitate if they want to continue to prosper. Instead, they must compete by offering their own original and improved products developed through research. Even if a company cannot afford its own research programme, it should avail itself of the services of some of the independent research facilities whose purpose is to meet such needs.

RESEARCH FOR PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT

Product development is a phase of research that has to do with anticipating and meeting changing consumer wants and needs. Through product development a company attempts to maintain its sales position, its profit margin, and its share of the market. Because

of research and product development, we live in a world of new models and new products.

In fact, many of our manufacturing companies have indicated that one of the most significant changes in business during this century has been the realisation that scientific research and product development are important for a continuing healthy industry.

In a short span of years we have moved from carts to jets, and from radio sets to T.V. There are tremendous changes in our way of life that technology has brought about since the turn of the century.

These changes have much to do with such aspects of modern living as higher wages, less drudgery and more leisure, more money for clothes and entertainment, new forms of recreation, greater opportunity for education and travel, all of which, of course, creates new demands for new products. An ideal product has been defined as one which is (a) cheaper, (b) not re-usable, and (c) habit-forming.

Take, for example, the rapid rise of the home wave-set lotions and hair sprays which have brought new business to chemical as well as cosmetic firms. In the textile field, we first had fabrics which required no dry cleaning but could be washed, now we have others which, when washed, need no ironing, and it is seriously predicted that we will eventually see disposable garments and other products that require no dry cleaning, washing, nor ironing but will be worn for a limited period and discarded. Similarly, the home appliance and frozen food industries have been built up and have flourished on the basis of less work and more free time for the housewife.

This is so because continuously building on previous research yields several desirable results:

1. Money is saved because researchers can explore ways for the company to exploit its markets fully,

2. research men have time to plan and work carefully for a definite sequence thereby avoiding repetition, and

3. continuous research determines where the danger spots are before they develop into major problems.

We shall consider the important functions of the Industrial Research Departments in a manufacturing concern.

In general, however, research departments are usually expected to perform the following important functions:[1]

1) **Improve current products:** A product is never completely perfected nor perfect, and continuing research for product improvements is imperative.

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1. Adapted from Maurice Nells, "Functions of Research and Engineering" (American Management Association, Inc, Research and Development Series, No. 3, 1957), pp. 17-19.

2) **Develop new products:** This function is particularly import-
ant to those companies where technology moves at a fast pace. It
includes not only internal research, but also keeping up with other
companies' new products and evaluating them with respect to compe-
titiveness and possible adaptation and use by their own company.

3) **Plan for the future:** Research essentially deals with the
future, and research personnel are in a strong position to aid manage-
ment in planning for tomorrow's product and tomorrow's work.

4) **Test products:** Experimenting and testing deal with analys-
ing and evaluating a competitior's product as well as our own. The
objective is to indicate its attributes, weaknesses, and possibilities of
substituting for other products currently on the market.

5) **Give scientific advice:** Frequently the best scientific person-
nel in a firm work in the research department. It is not uncommon,
therefore, for management to look to the research departments for
scientific advice and explanations about products, processes, and
phenomena.

6) **Evaluate diversification possibilities:** The research depart-
ment is in a unique position to advise management on the technical
and scientific aspects of possible acquisitions and how they would
relate to the company and its capacities.

7) **Help evaluate scientific markets:** Although the sales orga-
nisation has the responsibility for market evaluation, the research
department often can be of real aid to the sales department in evaluat-
ing a particular technical or scientific market. This is especially true
where the company is considering developing on new product for a
scientific market.

MARKET RESEARCH

Market research is a particular type of research having to do with
gathering, recording, and analysing the facts and problems pertaining
to the sale or transfer of goods and services from producer to the
consumer.

Market research, for example, would be used to determine
whether or not a large market existed for a proposed product or
whether or not a proposed product would meet a need and be favour-
ably received by the consumer.

Market research can also be used to determine the size of the
market in total, as well as show market size by geographical area, type
of buyer, income strata and the like. These are the types of things that
management needs to know. In running a business most executives
want to know where their firm stands with respect to the total market
potential. The percentage of the market their competitors are getting,

the way in which their competitiors do business, and how the consumers rate their products as compared with their competitiors' products. These are areas in which market research can be of real help.

Products can be developed in one of the three ways: i) by imitation, ii) by adaptation, and iii) by invention. Product development by imitation consists of marketing another product similar to one on the market. For example, the introduction of a king size cigarette by one company, following the successful marketing of such a cigarette by another company, would be product development by imitation. Developing products by adaptation concerns itself with developing an improved product for an already existing market. An illustration of this type of product development is the introduction of the electric wrist watch. Finally, the success of product development by invention, nylon for example, is dependent upon whether or not the product meets the needs of the consumer.

PLANNING FOR NEW PRODUCTS

Ideas for new and improved products come from many sources. They often grow out of consumer requests and questions. Because of this, many firms attempt to keep in close contact with consumers, listening to their thoughts complaints and desires. Ideas for new products also come from within the organisation, particularly the research group. The term research may be defined as the application of already known scientific phenomena to the development of new products or processes. This is frequently referred to as applied research. It does not usually involve pure research, which may be defined as an investigation conducted solely to develop information and understanding.

The small company in particular can seldom afford pure research to develop information which can be used in applied research. This information is usually obtained from technical papers, journals and other publications. It is also obtained from communication with other technical people in the same and other industries.

The difference between research and engineering may vary slightly from company to company. As used here, the research phase of product activity consists of the conception and the development of an idea until it can be proved practicable. At this point, engineering takes over and adapts it to the company's operations. This is part of the over-all operation of planning for new products for profit.

No sure way exists to evaluate a proposed product's productive feasibility, its marketability, or its profit potential. However, the experience of many firms show that the process of developing new

products contains six steps that can be fairly well defined: 1) exploration, 2) screening, 3) specification, 4) development, 5) testing, and 6) commercialization.   Because most new products logically go through these steps, they may well serve as planning *mileposts* and control points.[2]

1)   **Exploration:** This is the research stage in which ideas for new products are sought.   In this stage of product planning, careful attention is given to developing products that meet company needs, fit within overall company policies, and meet company objectives.

2)   **Screening:** Screening consists of a preliminary evaluation to determine whether the idea has possibilities and should be further pursued, or whether it should be dropped.   In this phase of preliminary evaluation, questions such as the following should be asked about the product.[3]

a)   what is the approximate market for this new product in units and in Rs.?

b)   Can this product be sold by the existing sales force, agents, or dealers?

c)   Are any serious difficulties foreseen in producing; e.g., additional equipment, new process, unusual skills, costly operations?

d)   Are there any important patents, licensing agreements, or other legal restrictions which affect either the manufacture or sales of this product?

e)   Will there be any serious difficulty in obtaining raw materials, personnel, and so on?

f)   How much money will be needed for the production and distribution of this item?

g)   Can financing be obtained and at a reasonable cost?

h)   What is the estimated cost of production, selling price, and gross margin?

i)   What effect will production and sales of this item have on existing suppliers, customers, employees, investors, and management?

j)   Are there any unusual features inherent in this situation that need special analysis?

3)   **Specifications:**   If the proposed product passes the screening test, it is then expanded into a realistic business recommendation.   In this step, a more thorough analysis is made of the marketability of the product, the features that consumers may desire, and competitors'

2.   "How to plan new products", *Iron Age*, October 17, 1957, pp. 85.

3.   Frank L. Roberts, "Reducing the Risks in Product Development."

probable actions. Finally a schedule is established for prototypes or models.

4) **Development:** This step consists of transforming an idea for a product into an actuality. Prototypes of the new product are built so that they can be shown and demonstrated.
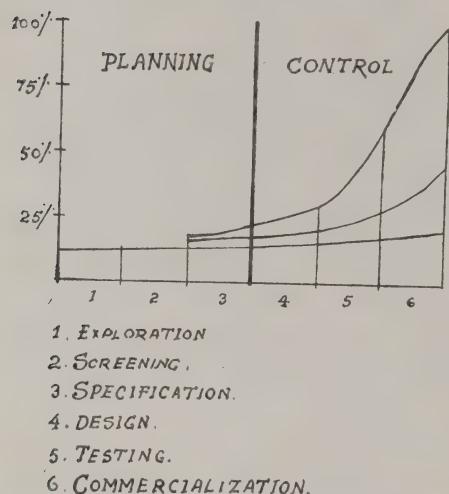
5) **Testing:** This is a critical stage where the work of the original product idea and the judgement about its feasibility are proved or disproved. Sample products are market tested, and user reactions are analysed. In addition, faults and flaws in the design of the product, as well as the way it is made, are studied. When a final agreement is reached on the exact specifications for the product, the design is "frozen", that is, no additional design changes are made. The product is then ready to be produced.

6) **Commercialisation:** This is the final step in the series and is the one with which we are most familiar. Commercialisation consists of all the actions involved in full scale production of the product, advertising and selling the product:

It is, in fact, during the development of new products that the planning and control department plays its most important role. New product development costs from the idea stage to the *commercialisation* stage are shown in the chart. The purpose of this chart is to emphasize the fact that the first three steps: exploration, screening, and specification are the important planning steps. Their total cost, the major portion of which is accounted for by people and paper work, is about 10 percent of the total development cost. The last three steps—design, testing, and commercialisation—are much more costly, for they involve large number of people and a great deal of hardware. It is during these last three stages that control becomes an important part of the new product function. Although planning and control certainly figure in all six steps, the chief emphasis is on planning during the first three and on control during the last three. The line drawn between the third and fourth steps represents the important decision-point where management must decide whether to proceed with the costly portion of new product development or not.

The importance of the planning and control department during the exploration stage cannot be over-emphasized. Once management objectives have been established with respect to product direction, a planned programme for collecting new ideas should be established. This programme should encompass all company departments, as well as external idea sources. Internal generation of new product ideas should be encouraged by making it easy to communicate them to the evaluators. Many companies use suggestion boxes, advisory boards etc.

CHART SHOWING -
THE CUMULATIVE COST OF NEW PRODUCT
DEVELOPMENT

1. EXPLORATION
2. SCREENING.
3. SPECIFICATION.
4. DESIGN.
5. TESTING.
6. COMMERCIALIZATION.

Screening too should be co-ordinated by the planning and control department. All departments should take part in the evaluation of new product ideas, although the market researcher must play a particularly important role during this stage. Some companies make use of appropriate forms and checklists.

The specification stage consists of determining the desirability and feasibility of the new product, sketches are made by industrial designers, and models are contributed by the company's engineers. A complete programme is formulated before proceeding with the actual work of development.

MINISTERS IN EARLY MEDIAEVAL KARNĀṬAKA

K. R. Basava Raj

Introduction:

Writers on polity of early mediaeval Karnāṭaka have regarded ministers as a very vital organ of the body politic. The *Yaśas-tilaka*[1] maintains that there cannot be a kingdom with king alone, without any officials: so they have to be created as well as guarded. In the *Mānasōllāsa*[2] we are told that the king should arrive at certain policies after consultations with his ministers. Thus it is clear that political thinkers always regarded the ministry as an indispensable body for the king. In the following pages an attempt is made to highlight the qualifications that determined appointments of persons as ministers. The present study restricts itself to the early mediaeval times in the histroy of Karnāṭaka when the Chāḷukyas were the overlords of many of their contemporary dynasties and reigned supreme in this region. Information for the present study is drawn from contemporary literary sources and lithic records of this region.

Qualifications of Ministers:

Works on polity lay down in great details the qualifications of ministers. Sōmadēva, in his *Yaśastilaka*[3] has stated that those alone who are in constant fear of their lives and who have no motives of self interest in deliberations deserve to be consulted by kings and certainly not those who are like leeches. Further, the author says that often the minister's position, understandably, is unenviable and he is bound to obey the king and follow his directions. But this, according to the author, might lead to his doing what is against the interests of the people. Under such circumstances, however, a conscientious minister would be in an uncomfortable dilemma.

The *Mānasōllāsa*[4] prescribes the following qualifications for this exalted office. The person must be a native of the country, born of high family, farsighted, wise, endowed with good memory, vigilant, eloquent, bold, intelligent, possessing enthusiasm and dignity, capable of endurance, pure in mind and actions, firmly devoted to the king, gifted with character, strength, health and high spirits, free from arrogance and fickleness, affectionate and one who would not have recourse to hatred even when offended by the king.

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1. *Yaśastilaka*, Bk. III 23-26.
2. *Mānasōllāsa* II, VV 52-59 and 697.
3. *Yaśastilaka* Book IV, 155-56.
4. Mānasōllāsa II, VV 52-59.

The fact that generally the rulers of Karnāṭaka paid much attention to these qualifications while seeking men to occupy the exalted positions of ministers is amply borne out by inscriptions.

The Chāḷukya records throw a flood of light on this aspect. A few instances of ministers may be noted. Ravidēva was a *Mahāpradhāna* (minister) under Vikramāditya VI. His descent and career are set forth at length in the Yēwūr inscription[1] dated A.D. 1077 and another record dated A.D. 1090.[2] He was a master of many languages and scripts. In addition, he was also a distinguished musician and when he began to play, every one present asked: 'is not this a downpour of fresh honey, or a river of nectar, that is falling upon us?' On account of his vast learning, he obtained the office of *Lāḷa-Sandhivigrahi* from the ruler *Āhavamalla* Sōmēśvara I. Subsequently, Sōmēśvara II, the son and successor of Sōmēśvara I, was pleased to appoint him as both *Sēnādhipati* (Chief of the Army) and *Hēri-Sandhivigrahi* (Senior Minister for Peace and War). Later, when Vikramāditya VI became the ruler he bestowed on Ravidēva all the insignia of royalty such as the white umbrella, the great drum and the fly-whisk. Thus Ravidēva had the unique distinction of having served by his merit three Chāḷukya monarchs successively "like a hand-mirror in their hands." And his achievement is all the greater because two of these monarchs—Sōmēśvara II and Vikramāditya VI did not see eye to eye with each other. But Ravidēva had gained the confidence of both the rulers.

An even more gifted minister was *Daṇḍanāyaka* Sōmēśvarabhaṭṭa. The Gadag inscription,[3] of the 23rd year of the Chāḷukya Vikrama era (A. D. 1098), contains a detailed account of this illustrious scholar-statesman. *Daṇḍanāyaka* Sōmēśvarabhaṭṭa was so well informed that even the most learned scholars came to consult him before reaching a decision on points of law or on the words and word order (*pada* and *krama*) of the text of the *Ṛg Vēda*. He was a master of all branches of learning, sacred and secular (*Vaidika* and *Laukika*). The Chāḷukya ruler Vikramāditya VI appointed him as *Dharmādhikāri* (Superintendent of Religion). Further, noticing his extraordinary efficiency in the development of the fiscal resources of the empire and the complete integrity of his character, Vikramāditya VI made him the *Pradhāna Mahāmātya* and bestowed on him all the insignia of royalty. The king also put him in charge of the administration of grants and gifts and placed all the royal material resources at the disposal of *Mahāpradhāna Daṇḍanāyaka* Sōmēśvarabhaṭṭa.

1. *E. I.* VII, p. 274.

2. SII XI (I) No. 158.

3. *E. I.* XV, pp. 352-54.

We may also cite here another instance of an equally distinguished minister *Daṇḍanāyaka* Bhīvaṇayya. The Lakshmeśvar inscription[1] of the 27th year of the Chālukya Vikrama era (A.D. 1102) refers to his outstanding qualities. The Chālukya monarch, Vikramāditya VI, had a great regard for *Daṇḍanāyaka* Bhīvaṇayya whom he considered as a great leader in battle and a perfect counsellor. It looked as though there were no others equal to him. Being pleased at his conduct, the ruler graciously honoured him and addressed him respectfully as "jīya" and bāppu". We have proof of the country from where *Daṇḍa-nāyaka* Bhīvaṇayya hailed. In the record referred to above, he is distinctly described "as an ornament on the face of the province of Kāshmīr" (Kāsmīra–vishaya–*mukha–maṇḍanam*).

The records of the Kadambas of Banavasi and Goa emphasise the qualifications that were deemed necessary for the post. The ministers were expected to combine administrative talent with a high moral course of life.[2] They were persons who had received liberal education, for it was expected of them that they should be 'intent on the affairs of the whole world.'[3] Birth was yet another qualification, since the official had to be a man of nobility who would not stoop to mean things. The records further describe the minister as generally well versed in the sciences of logic, rhetoric, and politics.[4] And he made use of his theoretical knowledge in solving the problems of the day. He was the adviser of the king both in times of peace and war.[5] Consequently he had to be well versed in the art of warfare no less than in statecraft. He followed the king to the battlefield and commanded several detachments of the army.[6]

Here it may be added that rulers of Karnāṭaka used to put the members to tests and they were appointed and confided to only if they came out successfully from the fire of temptation. An epigraph[7] dated A.D. 1077 reveals that a certain Koppadēva was made an officer in the Treasury only after he stood the test.

There are instances to show that during the period under review there prevailed to a certain extent the principle of hereditary minister-ship.[8] The rulers selected sons and relatives of ministers while making new appointments to the ministry, provided they possessed necessary

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1. *E. I.* XVI, pp. 33-4.

2. *E. I.* XIII, p. 314.

3. Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa, JBBAAS,* IX, p. 301.

4. *E. I.* XIII, p. 313.

5. *E. C.* VII, SK. 29.

6. *E. C.* VII, SK. 136; Sa, 45.

7. *E. I.* XII, p. 274.

8. *E. I.* X, p. 71.

qualifications for the same. In *Vaḍḍārādhane*,[1] there is a story which illustrates this practice. The story runs thus. A certain king called Atibala, after the death of his minister Sōmaśarma, made enquiries whether the deceased minister had sons to succeed to the office. After enquiry, it was found that the minister was survived by two sons, Agnimitra and Vāyubhūti. Then the king summoned them to his court and examined their capabilities. But when the king found that they were utterly ignorant he sent them away declaring that minister-ship was given only to persons well versed in *Śāstras* (*Śāstrangaḷaṁ ballaṁgaṁ mantripadaviyuṁ-bāḷumam pratipattyumaṁ koṭṭudu*). Inci-dently, it may be stated here that Agnimitra and Vāyubhūti after several years of training and education were found fit and appointed as ministers

Inscriptions of this period under study throw light on this aspect. The minister *Mahāprachaṇḍadaṇḍanāyaka* Kēśavayya was administer-ing the Beḷvola 300 and Purigere 300 divisions.[2] His eldest son, Vāvaṇarasa (*Kēśavarasana tadagra tanūjam*) was also a minister and held the office of *Mahāsandhi-vigrahādhipati* under the Chāḷukya king Jayasiṁha II.[3] Another instance of ministership being hereditary is that of *Daṇḍanāyaka* Kāḷidāsa. He was the son of *Daṇḍādhīsa* Madhu-sūdana who was a prominent member of the council of ministers and held the offices of *Kaditaveggade* and *Kannaḍa Sandhivigrahi Daṇḍa-nāyaka* Kāḷidāsa was raised to the rank of *Mahāpradhāna* and held the same offices of *Kaditaveggade* and *Kannaḍa sandhivigrahi*.[4] Yet another record[5] dated A.D. 1136 furnishes us with very interesting details of how the Hoysala ruler, Vishṇuvardhana-Dēva took all the care to provide opportunities to Vishṇu, the son of Vishṇu *Daṇḍādhi-nātha*, for qualifying himself to the exalted position of a minister.

Closely related to the principle of sons succeeding their fathers as ministers was the practice of ministership being given to members of families that had distinguished themselves in the services of the empire. This may be illustrated by noticing a few instances. *Daṇḍādhisa* Madhusūdana whom we have referred earlier, was a great warrior–statesman. He belonged to the Vārnasa family and the Vasishṭa-gōtra. About A.D. 1058, he was at the height of his career. In an inscription,[6] at Nāgavāvi, we get a detailed account of the history of this family of soldier-statesmen. Madhusūdana was the most distin-

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1. *Vaḍḍārādhane*, pp. 2-4.
2. *E. I.* XX, p. 64.
3. *ARSIE, Bk.* 110 of 1926-27.
4. A. S. No. 8.
5. *E. I.* V. 17.
6. *HAS* No. 8;

guished member of this family. He was the third among the six sons of Kālidāsa and Rebbaṇabbe. Kālidāsa is described as the person who was greatly responsible for the rise and prosperity of the Chālukya dynasty. He bore the title *Sangrāma–Kaṇṭhīrava*. From verse 29 in the text of the record it may be understood that there was a defection of the vassals from the Chālukya king Jayasiṁha and also a conspiracy to assassinate him. Kālidāsa was able to avert all these dangers. Bāchirāja, the elder brother of Madhusūdana, is said to have secured for his king the glory of the imperial sovereignity. He bore the title *Daṇḍa Gōpālaka* which indicates his signal success against the rivals of his master. Madhusūdana called also Madhuva was very famous. He enjoyed the privileges of a crown-prince (*yuvarāja*) especially bestowed upon him by the monarch. This is a rare instance of an imperial officer being raised to the honourable position of a crown-prince. He is described as the one "who could defeat the counsel of great ministers that surpassed even Mudrarākshasa, Chāṇakya, Kāmandaka and the Preceptor of Purandara (viz., Brihaspati) and such others, a very Yaugandharāyaṇa in the efficient employment of seventy-two services, who had a sparkling genius developed enough to strike the imagination of learned scholars with adminstration, who was the autumnal moon giving delight to lily of the Brahman community."

Yet another example of a family which served the Chālukyas for generations was that of *Daṇḍanāyaka* Anantapāla. A stone epigraph[1] dated A.D. 1126 offers us many details about his ancestors. He was the fourth son of Maheśvara Daṇḍādhipa, who, by rendering yeoman service to the Chālukyas, had earned the title *Chālukya kulamūla-sthaṁbha* (main pillar of the Chālukya family). Maheśvara *Daṇḍā-dhīsa* was the son of Bhīma *Daṇḍādhinātha*, who exhibited great valour on battle-fields and was the most prominent of the feudatories (*sāmantas*) of the king. An analysis of the epigraphs concerning him will help us to understand the important part which Anantapāla played along with his relatives in the history of Karnaṭāka. In a record[2] dated A.D. 1098 when the Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI was in the capital of Kalyāna, General Anantapāla was described as "a dweller at his lotus feet." The Tripurantakam record[3] dated A.D. 1126 declares the titles that this august general bore. These titles like *vibudha varadāyakaṁ* (giver to the learned), *sujana prasannaṁ* (favourable to the good people), *nudidu-mattennaṁ* (true to his word), *gōtra pavitra* (of pure gōtra), *parāngana putraṁ* (like a son to other women),

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1. SII IX(I) No. 213.

2. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 73.

3. *SII*. IX Pt. I No. 212.

. . . *ayyaṇasiṅga* (lion of his lord) point out the outstanding qualities which marked his character. Further, the record calls this general as '*arasa*' which certainly signifies the extent of confidence and appreciation of the monarch that Anantapala had earned. It is in a stone record[1] dated A.D. 1103 that we have a clear reference to the Gujarat region from where Anantapāla hailed. In this record he is described as "a moon to the water-lily Lāṭa *kula* (*Lāṭa kula kumuda–vana–vidhu–karaṇam*).

Daṇḍanāyaka Gōvindarasa, another distinguished minister of the Chāḷukyas, was the nephew of the illustrious general Anantapāla. We get an account of his family and the achievements of its members in a record[2] dated A.D. 1126. *Ganēśvara Chamūpa*, the great grandfather of *Daṇḍanāyaka* Gōvindarasa hailed from a celebrated Brahmana family in Madhyadēśa. His son was Padmanābha. Krishṇa *Chamūpa*, the son of Padmanābha, had rendered meritorious services to the Chāḷukyas. In the record referred to above he is described as *Kuntaḷa-vishaya–vadhūmaṇḍana* (lord of the bride Kuntaḷa region). It was Krishṇa *Chamūpa* who married Padmaḷadēvi, the sister of *Daṇḍanāyaka* Anantapāla and to them were born Lakshma *Daṇḍanāyaka* and *Daṇḍanāyaka* Gōvindarasa. *Daṇḍanāyaka* Gōvindarasa enjoyed great confidence of the Chāḷukya king Vikramāditya VI. The high favour in which he stood in the estimation of his imperial master is given in the statement that Gōvindarasa was like "a rod in Tribhuvanamalladēva's victorious hand"[3] (*Tribhuvanamalladēva vijaya dakshiṇa bhuja daṇḍam*) meaning thereby that general Gōvindarasa was indispensable for carrying out the king's conquests or for punishing recalcitrant people in the empire. His relationship with Anantapāla is brought out in the genealogical table on the next page.

Still another family that rendered meritorious services to the rulers of Karnāṭaka was that of *Daṇḍanāyaka* Kumāra Bammidēva. Many members of this family rendered distinguished services to the Kaḷachūris as well as to the Chāḷukyas. *Daṇḍanāyaka* Kumāra Bammidēva was the son of Kāvaṇa *Daṇḍanāyaka* and grandson of Bammi *Daṇḍēśvara*. In A.D. 1179 *Daṇḍanāyaka* Kāvana was administering Banavāsi 12000[4] and held the rank of *Mahāpradhāna*.[5] Bammidēva had two younger brothers, *Daṇḍanāyaka* Kēśava and Narasiṁha *Daṇḍanāyaka*. He was successful in putting an end to the rule of the Kaḷachuris and securing the throne to the Chāḷukyas. The Chāḷukya ruler, Sōmēśvara IV who was thus restored to the throne hailed
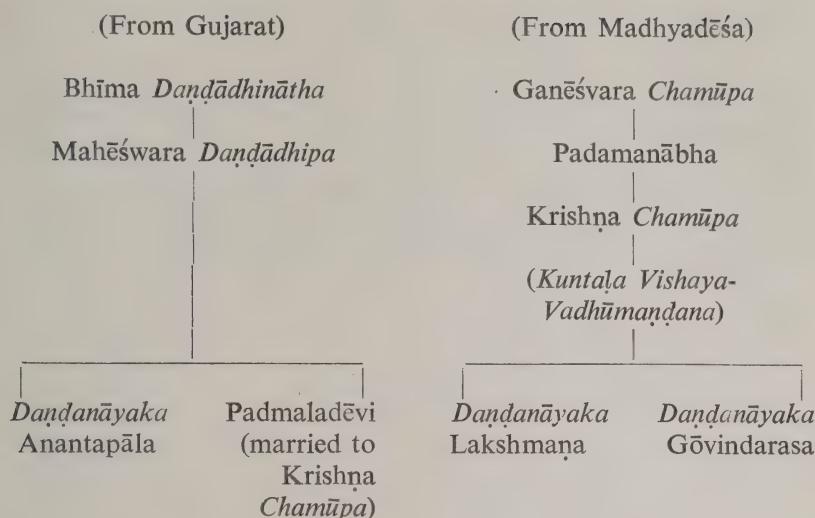
1. *E. C.* VII SK 98.
2. *S. I. I.* IX(I) No. 213.
3. *EC* VII, SK 137.
4. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Part II, p. 489.
5. *Indian Antiquary* V, p. 46.

(From Gujarat)		(From Madhyadēśa)	
Bhīma *Daṇḍādhinātha*		Ganēśvara *Chamūpa*	
Mahēśwara *Daṇḍādhipa*		Padamanābha	
		Krishṇa *Chamūpa*	
		(*Kuntaḷa Vishaya-Vadhūmaṇḍana*)	
Daṇḍanāyaka Anantapāla	Padmaladēvi (married to Krishṇa Chamūpa)	*Daṇḍanāyaka* Lakshmaṇa	*Daṇḍanāyaka* Gōvindarasa

Daṇḍanāyaka Kumāra Bammidēva as *Chāḷukya rājya samuddharaṇam* (establisher of the Chāḷukya rule). He was also described as *Rāya daṇḍanātha, gaṇḍa pendāra, Kaḷachūrya rājya nirmūlana, kadana-prachaṇḍa*[1] etc.

He was loyal to his imperial master, Sōmēśvara IV till the end and actively supported him in the face of many dangers and stormy political conditions. The Chāḷukya ruler was confronted with formidable rivals viz., the Hoysaḷas in the south and the Yādavas in the north. Sōmēśvara IV could not stop the Yādava tide and had to leave Kalyāṇa, his capital, in 1186 and make Vaijayanti (Banavāsi) the capital.[2] A record[3] dated A.D. 1192 states that the Hoysaḷa ruler, Ballāḷa II took possession of Karnāṭaka by defeating that famous hero Kumāra Bammidēva. *Daṇḍanāyaka* Bammidēva with a single elephant had successfully fought with the Kaḷachūris who commanded an elephant corps of sixty. Probably the great hero died in this battle-field. Sōmēśvara IV who continued his chequered career till 1200 A.D. had no support of any such men like *Daṇḍanāyaka* Bammidēva. Really, Bammidēva belongs to the galaxy of distinguished and loyal administrators.

Conclusion:

Thus it becomes clear that the rulers of early mediaeval Karnā-ṭaka took great care in appointing to the council of ministers men of

1. *SII* XV No. 59.
2. *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 381.
3. E. I., VI, p. 96.

learning and of distinguished qualities and those who belonged to families that had rendered yeomen service to the kingdom. The Chāḷukyas encouraged talented men by offering high offices in their empire although some of them came from places other than Karnā-taka. Merit was the criterion and not the region to which the members belonged. That the Chāḷukyas of Kalyaṇa could hold their sway over Karnāṭaka for a period of more than two hundred years was largely due to the loyal services of the well qualified and capable ministers.

THE ECONOMICS OF HANDLOOM INDUSTRY AT ILKAL

V. B. Angadi*

Introduction:

THE developing economies like ours are characterised by the following interrelated basic features, viz., (i) shortage of capital goods, (ii) very high incidence of regional unemployment, and rural underemployment, (iii) lack of technical knowledge, (iv) lack of entrepreneur-manager and (v) limited markets. It is, therefore argued effectively that high labour-intensive techniques on the one hand and low capital-intensive techniques on the other, serve very useful functions. These, besides minimising incidence of unemployment and underemployment, produce almost all consumer goods. These also lead to fuller employment of resources with a given amount of investment and thereby resulting in effective accumulation of rural capital which would not otherwise be possible. Without much technical knowledge and highly qualified entrepreneur-manager these techniques could be run. Moreover, these would bring about effective decentralisation which is now fully justified on technological and social grounds. (CHOUDHARI 1965 and DAGLI 1969: 636). It is held by VERMA (1967: 157) that decentralised economy of cottage and small-scale units has an added advantage of doing away with concentration of population in a larger industrial centres and that their extensive employment potential will go a long way in ensuring equitable distribution of wealth and eradicating economic disparities.

The concept of capital intensity may imply two different senses: (1) the intensity of capital per worker and (2) the intensity of capital per unit of output-i.e. capital output ratio. It should be noted that the two would not always move in the same direction. In some circumstances highly capital intensive technique in the former sense may be very low capital intensive technique in the latter sense and vice-versa. When the question of choice arises, high priority should be given to such a technique which has the minimum capital intensity per unit of out-put and which leads to fuller employment with a given investment. In short, planners must promote the technique in which a unit of capital leads to increased output and employment (SINGH 1-3). In the words of SHETTY: "In the context of an underdeveloped economy that technique of production would be ideal which, while maximising the surplus-capital-cost ratio, would also provide for the maximum employment".

The present study of Ilkal handloom industry seeks to find out economic significance of the industry keeping in view the above considerations and attempts to suggest practical solutions for the problems faced by the industry.

Bijapur district in Mysore State is very significant for handloom industry which provides employment opportunities for fairly large proportion of population in the district. According to the investigations of LAKSHMAN† (1967: 41) the Bijapur district has got the maximum number of handloom cooperative societies as well as largest number of looms under them. If we take into account the number of looms under private sector, the total number of looms would be more than double the number of looms under the cooperative sector in Bijapur district. It is estimated* that the number of looms per hundred weavers was 58 (1961-62) and per hundred weavers working mainly on weaving process it was 113. This implies that proportion of population depending on handloom is really very large.

Ilkal is one of the largest centres of handloom industry in Bijapur district. Ilkal handloom industry in Bijapur district has been playing a vital role from time immemorial. Its role is crucial in reducing the incidence of unemployment and underemployment in this part of the district. At present, it is meeting the demand of sarees and *khans* in large parts of the Mysore and Maharashtra States and to some extent in other states also. In Ilkal town proper, it is the most predominat industry in the sense that the major portion of the population depends on this industry for its survival. Weaving community at Ilkal has got

Table 1

Showing the percentage of population depending on Handloom industry during the years 1911–69

Years	Total Population	Population depending upon the industry	Percentage %
1911	9,019	6,313	70
1921	11,856	8,299	70
1931	14,267	11,314	80
1941	17,660	14,128	80
1951	20,747	15,560	75
1961	24,231	18,083	75
1969	30,000	24,000	80

Source: Census of 1911–1961 and Ilkal Municipality records.

† Bijapur District: (No. of Co-operative Societies 116, No. of looms 11,047).

* Study of Handloom Development 1967 Programme Evaluation Organisation Planning Commission.

inherent skill of weaving and it knows perfectly well the art of weaving attractive and superior quality sarees. Ilkal *Tōp-teni* sarees are famous and have been attached sacred value in some parts of Mysore and Maharashtra states. Ilkal is endowed with natural gifts like good climate and water favourable for weaving sarees of fast and glazing colour.

It is obvious from the table above that percentage of population depending on handloom industry has been very large. It is also quite clear that it is increasing year by year.

Organisation, Structure and Size:

In the handloom industry, at Ilkal, there are three main types of organisations viz., 1) Independent weavers, 2) Master weavers and 3) Producers' cooperative societies. The master weavers are of three types. The first type exercises the proprietary right over the establishment. The second type is known as "MUNGADA SYSTEM". The main feature of this is that it does not own any establishment but supplies the raw materials to the out-workers and receives the finished products from them after paying the wages. Or the weavers are obliged to sell the finished products to the same merchant-cum-master weavers from whom they have purchased the raw materials. The third type is known as the "SATTA SYSTEM" in which master weavers advance loans in cash on the condition that the borrower must supply the finished products to them.

At Ilkal, there are five Producers' Cooperative Societies which supply the raw materials to the members and receive the finished products by paying wages to them. The wages given by the cooperative societies are usually higher than the private sector wages.

Table 2

Looms controlled by different agencies in the year 1967–68

Types of Organisation	No. of looms
1. Independent weavers	500
2. „ Master weavers	1,000
3. Master weavers (Mungada System)	1,500
4. „ „ (Satta „)	1,500
5. Cooperative Societies	500
Total	5,000

The figures mentioned in table 2. are compiled on the basis of records of cooperatives and merchants-cum-master weavers in Ilkal.

From the above table it is clear that a major part of the industry is under the control of master weavers. These master weavers are mostly merchants and they cannot strictly be called weavers since they are not engaged in weaving. The percentage of establishments formally owned by the master weavers (in Mungada system) is negligible. Even the cooperative societies purchase the raw materials from the merchants-cum-master weavers and dealers in yarn and sell their finished products to them. Thus almost all the establishments, though some of them are owned and managed by a few individuals and cooperatives, come under the control of master weavers.

Size of Establishments:

Size of the establishments can be studied either by noting number of looms under one unit or by noting number of workers employed in the establishments. The size of the establishments in Ilkal Handloom Industry is fixed according to the looms employed as shown in the table 3.

Table 3

Distribution of looms according to the size-classes in the year 1967-68

Size-class 1 to 3	Percentage	Size-class 4 to 8	Percentage	Size-class 9 & above	Percentage
3500	70	1250	25	250	5

Source: Personal observations.

Looms as shown in the table 3 are scattered in the industry. Most of the establishments in the industry are having uneconomical size having only one or two looms. 70% of the industry suffers from uneconomical size. Units having 1 or 2 looms sre uneconomical because fixed capital as well as working capital per unit in such units is higher than in other units. The building and land required for such units will be sufficient for three to four looms. Labourers depending on different processes remain underemployed.

Process of Production:

Weaving to a casual observer may seem to be a simple process. But in practice it involves a large number of preliminary processes before yarn is put on the looms. In Ilkal, only mill-made yarn is used. The yarn of coarse and medium counts up to 40 is obtained from Gokak Mill, and 60 counts from Bombay, Bangalore and Coimbatore.

The yarn is purchased by the whole-sale dealers through mill agents and brokers and is then supplied to retail dealers. In Ilkal, retail dealers obtain the yarn from whole-sale dealers at Guledgud. 75 % of the weavers weave only 60 counts yarn. The silk and art silk are also important raw materials. The silk and art silk are obtained from Bombay, Salem and Coimbatore.

Yarn Dying:

The yarn is dyed locally. Ilkal dying is very famous, therefore the surrounding villages and other weavers living in distant parts obtain dyed yarn from Ilkal. Water and climate available at Ilkal turn out the colour to be permanent and glazy. The water and the climate are thus natural gifts to Ilkal. Before the advent of chemical dyes the indigenous and natural dye-stuffs were used. Most of the dealers-cum-master weavers dye the yarn at their homes. There are some independent dyers. Some master weavers and independent weavers get yarn dyed by specialist dyers. Because of the colour Ilkal sarees are distinguished from other sarees in the market. The considerable demand for sarees is owing to the gaurantee colour of Ilkal sarees.

Other processes like loosing, unwinding, warping, pirn-winding, sizing, beaming and reeding are done before weaving. Wages are paid at piece rates and they vary according to the count of yarn. Mostly all the processes are carried on by women and children. If a new person visits Ilkal, it is surprising to see that all women and children engaged fully in different kinds of works throughout the day.

Capital Structure:

The estimate of capital poses a very difficult problem in Ilkal Handloom Industry. It is so because no account relating to capital is maintained by the weavers and master weavers.

Fixed Capital:

The estimated original fixed cost per establishment is of the order of Rs. 85/-*. This amount is exclusive of cost of rented land and buildings. In a number of cases the buildings in which the units are situated are used for residential purposes too. Here assets are calculated in respect of that portion of the building which is used for the industry. It is estimated that the value of building in the aggregate ranges from 56 % to 70 % (NCAER. 1958) of the total assets. Next in importance are looms. Percentage of the value of looms in total original cost

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* Figures are quoted from the Survey of Handloom Industry in Karnatak and Sholapur. NCAER. 1958.

varies between 17 & 29. Land, furniture and fixtures account for a very negligible proportion.

Now-a-days the replacement cost has arisen tremendously. It is estimated that the assets sunk in handloom weaving have current replacement value which is almost 160 % higher than the original cost. The appreciation in cost of building, it is estimated, is above the original cost to the extent of 98 %. For looms the replacement cost exceeds the original cost by 60 % (NCAER 1958). Thus the replacement cost is highest in the case of building.

Low-working Capital:

In Ilkal, it is found that about 75 % to 80 % of units have very little working capital. These units are compelled, directly or indirectly to purchase the raw materials from merchant-cum-master weavers and to sell their final products to them. Thus, they require very little working capital. Their output depends on the work given to them by the master weavers and to some extent by the cooperative societies. The master weavers belonging to business in raw materials and finished products, control the output and scale of operation of handloom industry in Ilkal. Apparently, the small scale producers operate under the conditions of perfect competition. Actually prices and output are controlled by a few big master weavers. Therefore, a weaver suffers badly from the worst of both: 1) Competition within the industry and 2) monopolistic trade in its raw materials and finished products.

From the above anlysis one can arrive at the following conclusions:

1) The fact that buildings constitute the biggest element in the total asset structure of the handloom industry proves the low capital intensity. This seems to be the general characteristic feature of a large number of cottage industries.

2) When there is absence of working capital in respect of individual units, it is very disadvantageous from workers point of view. The independent weaver and independent master weavers are obliged to work for the big merchant-cum-master weavers even though they own fixed capital. This not only reduces drastically their earnings but it also equally restricts the output of handloom industry. The efficiency of the artisans is minimised by inadequacy of fixed as well al working capital. The efficiency, productivity and total production cannot be increased so long as adequate supply of raw materias is not made available.

Output:

Five thousand looms working in this handloom industry turnout annually about 8,00,000* sarees of all varieties. In money terms the value of the total output produced in this handloom industry is approximately to the tune of Rs. 2,00,00,000*. The sarees production accounts for 90 % of the total production. The production of *Khans* dhoties, etc. constitutes remaining 10 %. Sarees made out of 60 counts yarn account for 60 % and 40 counts yarn 35 %*. Pure silk sarees account for other 5 %. The sarees produced in Ilkal are having distinct features which we cannot find in other sarees. The sarees having *Tōp-teni* and big borders are distinguished from other sarees in the market.

Capital Output Ratio:

If we define optimum investment as that size at which the gross output per unit of capital is the largest, we arrive at very interesting results in this industry. Within the handloom industry, the optimum does not lie in the smallest unit employing one or two looms. More often than not it is reached with the establishment having more than three looms. For, fixed and working capital required per loom in the smaller size is greater than in larger size establishments.

Another interesting feature that is revealed by our observation is that capital intensity in the sense of capital employed per unit of output is not the lowest in the smallest size but it is the highest. Hence an obvious conclusion that follows from our observations is that the efficiency of the capital is less in the smallest size unit. Therefore it is found that an attempt to enlarge number of small size establishments will improve considerably the overall performance of the handloom industry. That the smallest sizes are not the most efficient ones is evident all the more when we take into account the ratios of working and fixed capital to the gross output. It is found that per unit capital in the very small size is high.

Employment Income and Expenditure

At present the total population in Ilkal is to the tune of 30,000. Of the total population, 80 % depends on handloom industry. Of the total number of persons employed in the handloom industry 46 % are males 42 % are females and 12 % are children. Out of total number of workers 80 % are family members and remaining 20 % are hired labourers. Of the total family labourers employed in this industry 70 % of them are full time and 30 % of them are part time workers.

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* Calculated on the basis of personal observations and records of Cooperative Societies and master weavers.

Note: All the observations pertain to the year 1967-68.

It should be noted that full time female workers operate fully in the sense that they engage only in hand-loom industry but not in others. Strictly speaking full time female workers are not fully employed. They spare some time for cooking and for doing some other domestic work. In the case of cooperative sector and independent weaver the percentage of part time labourers is higher than in the case of other weavers because of shortage of capital and raw material.

Busy Season and Slack Season:

The employment opportunities are subject to seasonal variations. During slack season the percentage of unemployment in the case of cooperative sector is more than in other sectors. The reason is that master weavers-cum-merchants have sufficient finance to provide with required working capital for all the looms working under them. So, weavers get employment throughout the year in this system. Independent weavers and cooperative societies suffer from shortage of finance specially in slack season. Like the master weavers they cannot stock sarees in the slack season. But during the busy season all types of workers are fully employed in all systems. The slack season usually occurs during months July to December while the remaining period of the year is considered as busy season.

Wage System:

Almost all the labourers are employed on a task-wage basis. If a weaver under Mungada system finishes a task of weaving a saree he obtains wage ranging between Rs. 3 and Rs. 15 depending upon the type of sarees. In cooperative fold a weaver obtains wage between Rs. 5/- and Rs. 16/-. The labourer working under independent master weaver gets wage ranging between Rs. 3/- and Rs. 8/-. For a female worker wage generally cannot exceed Rs. 1.50 per day. A child worker may get not more than Re. 0.50 per day. It is paying in the case of higher count sarees. If an independent master weaver weaving 40 count rough sarees, weaves 7 sarees he gets two sarees as remuneration. In this remuneration he has to pay for hired labourers. Hired labourer gets usually Rs. 3/- if he weaves a saree. The efficient weaver generally gets a wage per day ranging between Rs. 2 to 3.50 depending upon the type of sarees.

The wages paid by the cooperative societies are higher than the wages paid by the private sector. Moreover cooperative societies pay same wages to the member weavers in all seasons. But wages paid by the master weavers are varying according to seasons. It is observed that independent master weavers owning 3 to 8 looms and hiring 5 to 8 labourers record the highest earnings followed by those working for the cooperative and master weavers.   *(To be concluded)*

HONNATTI INSCRIPTION OF CHĀLUKYA VIKRAMĀDITYA VI AND GUTTA JŌMADĒVA I, A.D. 1124

R. N. GURAV

HONNATTI is a small village in the Rāṇebennūr taluka of the Dharwar district situated about ten miles north of Rāṇebennūr and about six miles south of Guttal. The present epigraph is kept in the Koḷaka Rāma temple in the village.

After two invocatory verses the epigraph introduces the reign of the Chāḷukya monarch Vikramāditya VI (11. 3-9). It then mentions his subordinate *mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara* Siṁhaṇadēva, apparently of the Sēuṇa family, who is stated to be ruling over the Sēguṇadēśa, the Paḷiyaṇḍa Four thousand and *agrahāras* in several countries including the one of Honnavartti in the Banavāse country (11. 9-11). His minister Ullaharāja was administering the *agrahāra* of Honnavatti under the pleasure of his master Siṁhaṇadēva (11-14). The Gutta *mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara* Mallidēvarasa is introduced next with the Gutta *praśasti* (11. 14-18) Three verses, two in Sanskrit and one in Kannada, describe the prowess of Mallidēva (11. 19-24). His younger brother Jōmadēva is then introduced. Two verses describe his excellence (11. 24-29). The ruling king was Jōmadēva. His capital was Guttavoḷal with the dominion comprised of Beḷuhige Seventy, Honnavartti Twelve and Beṇṇevūra Twelve (11-31). Four verses describe the town of Ponnavartti. It is noteworthy that in Ponnavartti there were temples worked with gold (*poṁ-besa*), Vishnu temples clusters of Jaina temples also worked with gold (*cheṁ-basadi*) and some (Bauddha *vihāras*. The town was resplendent with fragrant paddy fields, tanks, gardens and sugarcane plantations (11. 31-37). The village master was Vikramāṁka *daṇḍādhipa* (11. 37-38). The brahmins of the place were learned people (11. 39-40). The two hundred *mahājanas* of this Honnavarti which was an *anādi agrahāra* are introduced next. The two ministers of Jōmadēva, viz., Dēkaṇṇa and Nākaṇṇa are described in the next two verses (11. 45-48). These two ministers constructed a temple of Chāmēśvaradēva and made grants of paddy land of 50 *kammas* measured by the Kachchhavi pole, one *matter* of dry land of red soil, flower garden of ten *kammas*, a house and oil for temple lamp, having washed the feet of Brahmarāsi-jīyar under pleasure of the two hundred *mahājanas*, on the date cited (11. 48-56). Recommendatory and comminatory passages in Kannada and Sanskrit follow (11. 56-61).

The epigraph is important from several points of view. It is the earliest dated record of the Guttas, the only earlier inscription being

the broken one found at Chaudādanapura[1] of the reign of Mallidēva I (*circa* A.D. 1115). Secondly, it is also the earliest known record associating a Sēuṇa chief with the Bombay Karṇāṭaka area. It mentions him as *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Siṁhaṇadēva I, as a subordinate of the Western Chālukya monarch Vikramāditya VI. It is interesting to note that although the dominion of Simhaṇadēva extended over the countries of Sēguṇadēśa and Paḷiyaṇḍa Four-thousand, i.e., upto the Osmanabad district in the present Marāṭhavāḍa area, he had jurisdiction over Ponnavartti in the Banavāse-nāḍu. Perhaps he was holding it as a personal fief.

The next noteworthy point about the epigraph is the mention of *vihāras* in Honnavartti. Buddhism was lingering in Karṇāṭaka as late as during the 11th and the 12th centuries as noticed from inscriptions at Baḷḷigāva, Daṁbaḷ, Nagavi, Kōḷivāḍa, Iṇḍi, etc. The present epigraph shows that along with Hindu temples and Jaina *basadis* there were some Bauddha *vihāras* in Honnatti.

As to the *Guttas*, the epigraph states that at the time of the grant, Jōmadēva I was ruling the dominion under *manneya ādhipatya*. *Manneya ādhipatya*, which would be the same as *manneya sāmya*, would be the tenure of an inamdar some-what less in authority as exercised by a regular *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* like the Kadaṁbas of Goa or the Kalchuris of Mangaḷvēdhe, or the Guttas themselves in later years under Vīra Vikramāditya, son of Mallidēva. The principality of Jōmadēva is stated to have comprised of the Beḷuhuge-Seventy, Hommavartti-Twelve and Beṇṇevura-Twelve. Beḷuhuge is the present Belavagi, a village in the eastern part of the Haveri taluka, situated on the southern bank of the Varadā river, about six miles west of Guttal. Beḷuhuge Seventy would be comprised of the eastern part of the Haveri taluka, including Guttal, Hosaritti, Kanavaḷḷi, Hāvanūr, etc. In the Kanavaḷḷi inscription,[2] Beḷuhuge is stated to be the *janmabhūmi* of the Guttas. Honnavartti Twelve would be the group of twelve villages headed by Honnatti, comprising of the north-western part of the Ranebennur taluka. Beṇṇevūra Twelve would be the group of twelve villages headed by Mōṭebennūr, now in the Byadgi taluka. There is a damaged inscription mentioning the Guttas, at Kallēdēvar,[3] a village in the Byadgi taluka about eight miles north-east of Mōṭebennrū. The three divisions of Beḷavagi, Honnatti and Mōṭebennūr would form a compact area of ninety-four villages. This dominion of the Guttas was extended further by the successors of Jōmadēva. The

1. *Śivadēvavijaya*, App. I., No. VIII; also quoting from ink-impressions taken by me.
2. Quoting from ink-impressions taken by me.
3. Ibid.

capital of Jōmadēva is mentioned as Guttavolal, the present Guttal, a large village in the eastern part of the Haveri taluka on the Haveri-Havanur road.

The epigraph is in the *champu* style in chaste Kannada of the period. It evinces considerable literary merit. The author is at home in both poetry and prose. His name, however, is not disclosed.

The date is given in lines 50-51 as the 48th year of the Chālukya Vikrama era, Śōbhakrit *samvatsara*, Māgha *amavāse*, Ādityavāra, *samkrānti vyatīpāta* and *suryya-grahana*. The 48th year of the Chālukya Vikrama era agrees with the Śōbhakṛit *samvatsara*, Śaka year 1045. In this *samvatsara*, Māgha *amāvāsyā* took place on Sunday, 17th Feb., A.D. 1124. There was, however, no solar eclipse on that day. The *makara samkramana* for the year took place on Tuesday, 25th December, A.D. 1123. Taking the month and the *tithi* as correctly quoted, the date would correspond to Sunday, 17th February, A.D. 1124.

The geographical place names mentioned are (1) Sēgunadēśa (2) Paliyanda nāl-sāsira (3) Banavase-nādu (4) Pātalīpura (4) Ujjēnī (6) Ponnavartti Twelve (7) Beluguge Seventy (8) Bennevūra Twelve (9) Guttavolal (10) Kuntala-vishaya (11) Ponnavartti (12) Gājavūra (13) Kachchhavi and the Tīrthas. Sēgunadēśa is the territory of the Sēunas comprising mostly of the districts of Khāndēśa, Aurangabad and Nasik. Paliyanda nāl-sāsira, otherwise known as *Pratyandaka chatus-sahasra* was the country comprised mostly of the Osmanabad district and adjoining parts of the Poona, Ahmadnagar and the Bir districts. This country was situated to the south of the Sēgunadēśa. Its chief town has been indentified with Parenda in the Osmanabad district. Banavāse-nādu, Pātalīpura, Ujjēnī (Ujjayini) and Kuntalā vishaya are well-known. Beluhuge, Bennevūra, Guttavolal and Ponnavartti are discussed above. Gājavūra cannot be identified for the present. Kachchhavi after which the measuring pole was named is Madern Kachavi in the Hirekerur taluka of the Dharwar district.

TEXT[1]

1.   [2]*Namas—tuṁga-śiraś-chumbhi-chaṁdra-chāmara-chāravē /
trailōkya-nagar-āraṁbha-mūla-staṁbhāya Śaṁbhavē II*[1*]

2.   *Kāla-kshēpō na karttavyaṁ āyuḥ-kshīṇē diṇē diṇē*[I*] *Yama-
sya karuṇam(ṇā) n-āsti dharmmasya tvaritā gataḥ (tiḥ)
II*[2*]

3.   *Svasti (I*) Samsta-bhuvan-āśraya śrī-prithvī-vallabha mahārāj-
ādhirāja paramēśvara parama-bha-*

4.   *ṭṭāraka Satyāśraya-kula-tiḷaka Chāḷuky-ābharaṇa śrīmā*[t*]
Tribhuvanamalladēvara vijaya-rā-

5.   *jyam=uttarōttar-ābhivṛidhdhi-pravardhdhamānam-ā-chamdr-
ārkka-tāram baraṁ saluttam-ire II Maruḷakkuṁ*

6.   *Tripurīśan-allad-aḍ-avaṁ chakri-pratāp-ātapaṁ piriduṁ
tāpaman-uṁṭu-māḍe hi-*

7.   *mamaṁ pokk-irppud=eṁd=iṁtu pēḷvara* [*mātaṁ*]*nasu-
gēḷvaḍ=ā Himavad=eṁ tat-tāpamaṁ māṇisal*

8.   *charaṇa-dvaṁdva-nakh-āṁśu-chaṁdrikeyo pēḷ Chāḷukya-
chakrēśana II*[3*] *Tat-pāda-padm-ōpajī-*

9.   *vi II Samadhigata[3] mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Siṁhaṇadēvaṅ
Sēguṇa-dēśamuṁ Paḷiya-*

10. *ṇḍa-nāl-sāsiramuṁ mattam=anēka-dēś-āgrahāraṁgaḷuṁ
Banavase-nāḍa-baliy=anādi-*

11. *y=agrahāraṁ Honnavarttiymaṁ sukhadin=āḷuttam-ire II
Tad-amātyan=akhiḷa-guṇa-*

12. *gaṇa-sadanaṁ saujanya-lalita-latikā-kaṁdam sad-amaḷa-
sasi-yaśan=esedaṁ vidit-ōdya-*

13. *t-tapana-tējan=Ullaharāja II*[4*] *Ātaṁ Honnavattiyaṁ
svāmi-prasādadiṁ sukham-anubhavisuttaṁ=iral=alli-*

14. *ge II Samasta-bhuvana-jana-saṁstūyamāna-chāru-charaṇ-
āraviṁda vairi-baḷa-viḷaya-Gōviṁda Pāṭaḷīpu-*

15. *ra-var-ādhīśvara kīrtty-aṁgan-ādhīśvaran=Ujjēnī-Mahā-
kāḷadēva-labdha-vara-prasādaṁ raṇa-kēḷī-vinōda vaṭa-
kaḷpa-taru-*

16. *śōbita-vijaya-kīrtti-dhvaja rūpa-makara-dhvaja Chaṁdra-
gupt-ānvaya-Lalāṭa-lōchana- mriga-rāja-lāṁ-*

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1. From ink-impressions taken by me.

2. *Metres*: Verses 1, 2, 5, 18, and 19 *Anushtubh*; vv. 3, 9 and 13 *Mattebhavikrīḍita*:
vv. 4, 10, 12, 14, 15 and 17 *Kanda*; v. 6 *Sragdhara*; vv. 7 and 11 *Chaṁpakamālā*:
v. 8 *Mahāsragdhara*: v. 16 *Utpalamālā*: v. 20 *Salinī*.

3. Apparently-*paṁcha-mahāśabda* is omitted by oversight by the scribe.

17. *chhana daśa-siṁhāsana-pavitra sa-beḷa-Triṇētra bhū-chakra-*
    shakran=ayyana chakra Vikramāditya-vaṁś-ōdbhavar
    =appa

18. *śrīman-mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara Mallidēv-arasa II Gutta-*4 *vaṁśa-*
    lalāmasya chaṁḍa-vairi-dharā-taḷa-[I] nīrākara ivōbhā-*

19. *ti vētra-vidruma-saṁchayaiḥ II [5*] Rājantē sō vatātvaṁ*
    nija-nija-vadan-āḷaṁkri(kṛi)ta-śrōtra-patra-trāṇay=ā

20. *namna(mra)-daity-ādhipa-vara-vanitānāṁ chaḷat-kuntaḷ-*
    aughāḥ [I]yat-pād-ādyai nakh-āṁśō sura-sarid-udar-ōn-*

21. *vṛiṁdamaṁ bhōja-vṛimdē bhrāṁmyan=matt-āḷinīnām=iva*
    nava-śaśabhṛin-maṇḍanō Mallidēva II [6] Ari-narapāḷa-*

22. *r=uḷ-garuḷa-baṁbale bāsigam=echchu pāyva nettare posa-*
    kuṁkumaṁ muṛidu sūsida paḷgale sēshe vai-

23. *ri-kiṁkarara śiraḥ-karōṭigaḷe soṁnaliy=āg-ire-Mallidēvan=*
    udhdhura-jaya-kanyakā-pariṇay-ōtsavamaṁ meṛedaṁ

24. *mah-ājiyoḷ II [7*] Tad-anuja II Dore-vett-audāryyamuṁ*
    śauryyamuṁ=oḍan-oḍan=oṁd-oṁdan=oṁd-oṁdu-
    mīṛu-

25. *tt-ire gaṁbhīratvamuṁ tatvamum=oḍan-oḍan=oṁd-*
    oṁdan=oṁd-oṁdu mīṛutt-ire tatv-ākhyānamuṁ
    mānamum=o

26. *ḍan-oḍan=oṁd-oṁdan=oṁd-oṁdu mīṛutt-ire tannaṁ*
    mīṛal=āruṁ neṛeyar=enisidaṁ dēvan=ī Jōmadēva II
    [8] Eredargg=īvu-*

27. *duv-āṁtaram tavipuduṁ bhīt-ātmaraṁ kāvuduṁ dhare koṇḍ-*
    āḍuva Gutta-vaṁśajara pūrvv-ābhyāsav=eṁd-aṁd=
    id=achchariye

28. *bēḍidargg=īvuduṁ dhuradoḷ=āṭiṁd=āntaram sōvuduṁ*
    śaraṇ=eṁd-irdd=aḍe kāvuduṁ bhujada balpiṁ Jōma-
    bhūpa-kshit- 5

29. *śa II [9*] Ene negaḷda mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvaraṁ Jōmadēvaṁ*
    Ponnavartti-panneraḍuṁ Beḷuhuge-yelpattuṁ Beṇṇevū-

30. *r-ppanneraḍ=int=initakkaṁ manney=adhipatyamaṁ tāḷdi*
    dushṭa-nigraha-viśishṭa-pratipāḷanadim Guttavoḷalalu su-

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4. The verses (5) and (6) are faulty.

5. Metre requires the reading '*Jōma-bhūp-ōttamaṁ*'. It is interesting to note that
   the letters '*Jōma-bhūpa-kshitī*' are not carved as usual, but only the initial carving
   is made and the letters are not deeply and well cut. It appears that the engraver
   noticed the mistake in the text at the time of finishing the cutting and allowed
   the letters to remain in the initial stage of cutting.

31. *khaṁ rājyaṁ-geyyuttaṁ-ire II Kuṁtaḷa-vishaya-vadhūṭī-*
    kāṁti-samēt-ānanakke mūginavol chelvaṁ taḷedu
    tōrppud=akhi-

32. *ḷ-ās-ānt-āvṛita-kīrtti Ponnavartti grāma II [10*] Surapuramaṁ*
    paḷaṁch-aledu Bhōgāvatīpuramaṁ taguḷdu dhikkarisi
    Kubēran=i-

33. *kkey=Aḷakāpuramaṁ paḷid-eyde tanna bittaramane lōkadoḷ=*
    meṛedu raṁjisuv=aggada Ponnavarttiyaṁ narar=aḷav=
    altu ba-

34. *ṇṇipad=iḷā-taḷad=ūrggaḷa chakravarttiya II [11*] Poṁ-*
    besada dēgulagaḷin=iṁb-āg-ire sameda- Vishṇu-gṛiha-
    saṁchayadiṁ cheṁ-basa-

35. *diya tiṁtiṇiyin=aḷuṁbaṁ palavuṁ vihāradiṁ sogaya (yi)*
    suguṁ II [12] Phaḷa-bhār-ānata gandha-sāḷi-vandiṁdam*
    prōchchaḷa-

36. *t-śīkar-āvaḷi-mēgh-āvaḷiyoḷ paḷaṁchuva taḍāg-ānīkadiṁ*
    pēśaḷ-ātuḷa-sart-pirttuka (sarvv-arttuka)- nandan-
    āvaḷigaḷiṁ saṁd-ikshu-

37. *vāṭaṁgaliṁd=eḷeyoḷ nōrppaḍe Ponnavattiya viḷāsaṁ nāḍe*
    kaṅg-oppugu II [13] Allig=ūr-oḍeya II Neṛe dhare*
    tanna

38. *pad-ābjakk=eṛaguva Chāḷukya-chakri tanna pad-ābjakk=*
    eṛaguvan=ene baṇṇisal=ār=nneṛevar=śrī Vikra-
    māṁka-daṇḍādhipana 11 [14] Alli-*

39. *ya dhar-āmar-āvaḷiy=ellaṁ vēd-ārttha-śāstra-nīti-purāṇ-ādy-*
    ullasita-sakaḷa-vidy-ōtphull-āṁbuja-shaṇḍa-kēḷi-lōḷa-

40. *marāḷar II [15*] Svasti yama-niyama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-*
    dhāraṇa-mōn-ānushṭhāna-japa-samādhi-śīla-saṁpnnaru
    sujana-

41. *[ma]na-su-prasannaru Manu-charitr-ādharīkrita-viśudhdha-*
    chu(cha)ritraru sakaḷa-varṇ-āśrama-pavitraru svargg-
    āpavargga-mārgg-aika-sādhakaru Ha-

42. *ri-Hara-pād-āṁbuj-ārādhakaru yaja[na*]-yājana-adhyayan-*
    ādhyāpana-dāna-pratīgraha-shaṭkarmma-nirataru
    vinirmmuktaduri-

43. *taru madavad-ahita-kula-saṁharaṇaru chatus-samaya-*
    samudhdharaṇaru dāna-guṇa-gagana-taṭinī-prabhūta-
    himavanataru

44. *sāhitya-vidyā-latā-vasantaru ity=ady=anēka nāmāvaḷi-*
    virājitar=appa srīmad-anādiy-agrhāraṁ Honnavarttiy=
    ūr-o

45. *ḍeya-pramukha-mahājanav=innūrvvaru II Guttara vaṁśadoḷ*
    negaḷda Jōmana bīḍinoḷ=aty-udātta-viprottaman=appa

46. *Dēkaṇane dal nayadoḷ guṇadoḷ negartteyoḷ bittarisalke takka*
    purushaṁ purushōttaman=eṁdu svā-

47. *mi-sampattine baṇṇipar=gguṇa-karaṇḍakanaṁ Manu-nīti-*
    mārggana II [16] Baṇṇige-vātugaḷaṁ nuḍiv=aṇṇaṁ-*
    gaḷanuirali Jōmadēvana sa-

48. *bheyoḷ kaṇṇ-irppa-vol=irddaṁ Nākaṇṇaṁ parivāra-vārdhdhi*
    vardhdhana-chaṁdra II [17] Anti=enisi negaḷdu*
    Jōmadēvana pradhānar=appa Dēkaṇṇanuṁ

49. *Nākaṇṇanuṁ māḍisida Chāmēśvara-dēvara dēgulada khaṇḍa-*
    sphuṭita-jīrṇṇōdhdhārakka gandha-dhūpa-dīpa-nivēdyakka
    vūr-oḍeya-pramu-

50. *kha-mahājanav=innūrvvaraṁ prasādisi-koṇḍu śrīmach-*
    Chāḷukya-Vikrama-kālada 48 neya Śōbhakrit-saṁvat-
    sarada Māghad=ama-

51. *vāse Ādityavāra saṁkrānti-vyatīpāta sūryya-grahaṇadaṁdu*
    Chāmēśvaradēvara sthānad=āchāryyar-appa Brahma-
    rāsi Jīya-

52. *ra kālaṁ karchchi dhārā-pūrvvakaṁ māḍi koṭṭa gardde Gāja-*
    vūrada baṭṭeyiṁ mūḍalu Hōkabbeya haḷḷadalli Kachchha-
    viya gaḷeya-

53. *lu gardde kamma ayvattu [1*] Śrī Kalidēvara Kēśavadēvara*
    keyiṁ domm-ereyiṁ teṁkaluṁ ereya keyi mattar=ayidu
    [II]⁶*

54. *⁷Gājavūrada hola-vēreya baḷiyalu Bāṇēśvara-dēvara keyviṁ*
    paḍuvalu kisu-kāḍu matta-

55. *r=oṁdu [I*] Dēvara parisūtradiṁ mūḍalu pūvina tōṁṭa*
    kamma hattu [I] Ūroḷage mane oṁdu [I*] Telli-garalli*
    soṁttige

56. *eṇṇe [II*] Int=ī dharmmavan=āvan=orvvaṁ pratipāḷisida*
    vāraṇāsi Kshu(ku)rukshētra Prayāge arghya-tīrthaṁgaḷoḷu
    sāsira kavileya kō-

57. *ḍuṁ koḷagumaṁ honnalu kaṭṭisi sāsirvvar=vvēda-pāragar=*
    appa brāhmaṇargg=ubheya-mukhi-dāna-goṭṭa phalam=
    akku [II] Idan=aḷid=ātan=ā*

58. *tīrtthaṁgaḷoḷ=anitu kavileymasa(n=a)nibaru brāhmaṇaru-*
    man=aḷida pātakaman=eyḍuvaru II Sva-dattaṁ (ttāṁ)
    para-dattaṁ (ttāṁ) vā yō harēti(ta) vasu-

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6 & 7 Some matter inscribed here seems to have been effaced intentionally

8.   Read: *shashtim varsha-sahasrani.*

59.   *ndhrā(ṁ*) shashṭir⁸-vvarisha-sahasrāṇi vishṭāyāṁ jāyatē krimi*
      (krimiḥ) II [18*] *Na vishaṁ visham=ity=āhur=dēva-*
      svaṁ`visham=uchyatē [I*] *visham=ē-*

60.   *kākinaṁ hantu(nti)   dēva-svam pautra-pautrikaṁ II* [19*]
      Sāmānyō=yaṁ dharmma-[setur*]=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē
      pālanīyō bhavadbhih (I*) sa-

61.   *rvān-ētān bhāginaḥ pārtthivēṁdrā(n*) bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē*
      Rāmabhadraḥ II[20*] *Śrī śrī śrī II*

62.   [*Śrī Chāmanātha-dēvariṁge . . . mūnūrvvaru*] . . . . . *II*

PROBLEMS OF THE AGED AND LOCAL AUTHORITY*

H. M. MARULASIDDAIAH

Part I

The Aged and Their Problems

An attempt is made in this paper to give a brief review of some of the findings of two empirical studies made by me in Mysore State, and to suggest certain welfare measures for the aged that can be organised by local authorities.

The first study was concerned with the analysis of the role and the problems of older persons in a rural community,[1] while the other was concerned with the analysis of social welfare services organised in an urban community. The first study was made in a small village, which I call *Mākunti*, with a view to exploring the position of the aged in their families, among their kinsmen and caste-fellows, and in the village community, and the role that they played in the economic, religious, recreational and judicial areas, and the problems that they encountered with regard to the satisfaction of physical, psychological and social needs.

The second study was an attempt to explore the social welfare services rendered by both the governmental and voluntary agencies in *Bangalore*, the capital of Mysore State. The welfare services were organised for the socially under-privileged, economically under-privileged, socially handicapped, mentally handicapped, the physically handicapped, the aged and infirm, and the ex-servicemen. The focus was on the problem of whether the traditional values were in the background of the organisation of the welfare programmes. That is to say, the orientation of the second study was entirely different from that of the first study. Therefore, the reference made in the second research to the aged was incidental. Moreover, the beneficieries were not within the scope of the study. However, the study in the urban setting gave an insight into the possible programmes that could be organised for the aged in the city.

Making use of these two studies, I hope to cover in this paper the two extreme ends of the rural-urban continuum.

Secondly, I should like to consider the administrative structure of the local authorities, namely the Village Panchayat Council, the

1. See, Marulasiddaiah, H. M, *Old People of Makunti*, Karnatak University, 1969.

Taluka Development Board, the District Development Council and the Municipal Corporation, in terms of their functions and the probable programmes of welfare that could be taken up by them.

Who are the Aged?

The problem of fixing the minimum age for a person to be treated as aged has two implications, the theoretical, and the practical. Theoretical sociologists are mainly interested in the study of the process of aging as a point of reference in order to understand the structure and functioning of human society and culture. That is to say, they want to know the implications of the age in the structuring of various groups and their functioning. But the social workers and the welfare administrators, who are interested in designing and implementing welfare measures, are mainly concerned with the practical implications. They are, for instance, interested in knowing the physical, psychological and social needs of the aged; the administrative problems that crop up in organising and implementing measures to meet such needs. Therefore, their approach to the problem of fixing the age differs from that of the theoretical sociologists. However, both of them have to arrive at a consensus in this regard, since both the theoretical and practical views influence one another.

But, what are the criteria that we can adopt to fix the minimum age for one to enter old age? The criteria naturally vary according to whether they are men or women, villagers or urbanites, and according to the countries and the occupational groups they belong to. Besides, we see the variation between individuals in the same group. " . . . Even for modern societies with reliable records of birth", says L. W. Simmons, "there are no clearcut biological tests or other generally accepted standards to establish just when old age begins or senescence is actually reached; and those which are cited are often crude, variable, and irrelevant for practical use, except with qualifications and for a particular social milieu, or even a special occupational group. But in most preliterate societies chronological age is of even less use, since accurate birth records are rarely if ever available."[2]

In case we are successful in establishing the chronological age, we cannot ignore other important factors such as physical, psychological and sociological.[3] To quote Simmons again, "the only reliable criteria for the onset of old age seemed to be the social and cultural one. The simplest and safest rule to follow was to consider a person as "old" whenever he was so regarded and treated by his contemporaries."[4]

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2. Simmons, L. W. p. 15.

3. Gray, R. M. and Moberg, D. O., pp. 13-14.

4. Simmons, L. W., p. 16.

If we consider the factors such as losing eye sight, teeth and vigour, growing grey hair, becoming grandfather and changes in the role pattern we find the people in Makunti becoming aged by the 45th year, if not, definitely by the 50th year. It should be noted here that anthropologists who are specially concerned with the study of preliterate and peasant societies tend to fix the 50th year as the point of onset of old age.[5]   Under the extremely unfavourable natural and economic forces people attain old age early, and the span of life is limited.   Due to improved conditions in India, particularly after Independence, the longevity has increased, it is said. Since the agriculturists and those who are engaged in other rural occupations do not retire from their work at a particular prefixed age, it becomes rather difficult to fix the minimum age.   The Mysore Government for the purpose of paying old age pension has fixed 70 years. But this cannot be accepted as a standard age as the persons much younger in age encounter a number of problems and play the roles that are peculiar to the aged.

In the urban communities people retire from their services normally at their 55th year and the same age may be considered as the beginning of old age.[6]   But the welfare organizations meant for the aged take those who are 60 years and above. As has already been mentioned one qualifies to receive old age pension after his 70th year, provided he has no means of livelihood.

So the age is to be fixed on the basis of various factors, particularly physical health, economic condition, nature of the community, proximity of relatives, etc. However, the 55th year may be accepted as the minimum age.

If we look into the figures of the aged we will know the gravity of the problem.

Table No. 1

Aged According to 1961 Census

Age	Rural Mysore	Urban Mysore	Makunti*	Bangalore Corporation
55+	1,474,106 (8)	353,383 (5)	154 (9.4)	Could not be obtained
60+	1,091,706 (6)	259,529 (4.9)	114 (7)	39,392 (4.4)

* Refer to 1962 figures gathered by me. The figures given in the brackets are per centages of the total population of their respective territories.

5. *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, p. 62.

6. However, the Chief Minister of Mysore made a statement in the Mysore Legislative Assembly on 23rd January 1969 and said that the Government was going to consider a policy of retiring the state government employees aged 50 if they were found to be physically incapable and inefficient.

These figures indicate the fact that the older persons are more in the rural areas than in the urban areas.

The following Table No. 2 shows that there are more older persons (60 and above) in the rural areas than in the urban areas who are workers. Besides, there are more male workers than female workers in both the areas.

Table No. 2

Male and Female Workers who are 60 years and above in
Rural and Urban Mysore in 1961

RURAL		URBAN		MAKUNTI*		BANGALORE	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
440,269	146,689	77,266	19,921	59	36	8,911	1609
(78)	(27)	(60.8)	(15)	(93.6)	(88)	(45)	(8)

* Figures refer to 1962. The figures given in the brackets are per centages of the total population of the respective sexes in the same age group.

These figures show that a very large number of men and women are not workers in the urban areas. This means that they have to depend on the others for their livelihood. On the other hand even in the advanced age people in the villages go on working. One of the reasons for this is the difference in work pattern prevalent in the respective communities.

Besides the factor of economic condition, marital status is to be considered when welfare measures are to be organised. For, the older persons as they are advancing in age are progressively losing their partners which is a condition that brings in a host of problems for the aged.

In Makunti, it was found that there were more women than men who were without their spouses. Out of 81 older men (i.e. 55 and above) 60 (74 %) had their wives while out of 73 older women only 17 (23.3 %) had their husbands. At present, I do not have figures of older persons in Bangalore that give the information about their marital status. However, on the basis of the inmates in the welfare agency, this much can be said that rarely they had their partners, particularly those who were above 70 years.

I should like to suggest the following minimum ages for men and women in rural and urban communities against their economic position, to be considered for purposes of organising welfare measures.

Minimum Age For Men and Women

Economic position	Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
With some means	65	60	60	55
With no means	60	55	55	50

Problems of the Aged

According to the cultural or traditional expectations, it is the eldest either in the family, in the kingroup, in the neighbourhood, in the caste or in the village who is normally expected to play a dominant role in guiding the younger people, in resolving the conflicts that might arise among them; to play leadership role in the religious, economic, domestic, administrative and such other matters. It is believed that with the passing of time one would become wiser and, therefore, is in a position to play the dominant role. It is the father, the father-in-law, the husband, the elder brother, the elder of the neighbours, of the caste, of the village, who is, accordingly, to play the important role in these spheres. The aged, therefore, is to be respected and listened to with reverence. Further, it is the duty of the younger to protect the aged. It is almost a sacred duty. In the words of A.R. Chandler, "the oriental ideal of filial piety gives authority, security, honour and a sense of immortality to the older generation."[7]

But the empirical situation is not as rosy as it is considered to be. Things are changing, both in the rural and urban communities, affecting the aged, generally, adversely. Families are breaking into nuclear families; kinsmen are losing closer affinity; caste sentiment (towards the aged at least) is declining; village administration is being captured by the younger people; traditional work pattern is changing yielding place to new ones; religious fervour is declining. If this is the case in the village it is still more in the cities. Though a greater number of older persons are living in the families their number is declining. In Makunti, for instance, 13.6% of the older persons are living alone. Those who are alone in the cities must have joined the army of beggars. In Makunti there are more than 57% nuclear families, and the number is increasing. The Panchayati Raj has brought changes in the structure of village administration. Formerly, elderly persons used to be the members of the village council (traditional). But due to adult franchise the younger persons are coming to power. If we observe the three

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7. Chandler, A. R. p. 254.

elections in Makunti the picture will be very clear. The average age of the member of the Panchayat in 1952 was 56, it was 48 in 1957 while it was 44.7 in 1960. The actual age of the Chairman in 1952 was 51, it was 45 in 1957 and it dropped down to 32 in 1960.[8]

The problems that the aged are encountering are also due to the changes that are rampant. There were problems of poverty, ill-health, isolation and such other, even prior to the rapid social changes, no doubt. But the crisis in the value with regard to the position of the aged has brought in its train emotional maladjustment, feeling of despondency and of insecurity.

Therefore, the problems of the aged can broadly be divided into three, namely, (1) Emotional, (2) Medical and (3) Economic

(1) **Emotional Problems:** Since the aged are witnessing unusual changes in social values, and their status and roles are progressively disregarded, it has become rather difficult for them to derive psychological satisfaction. In spite of their resistence sons are breaking away and getting divided; their advice is neglected; their status in the kin-group is disregarded; their role in the caste and village affairs is considered as unimportant; the defiant son is not punished. There is a feeling in the village that there is no place for the aged though some older persons still play important roles. These and such other situations bring frustrations for the aged who, as a result, become despondent. And those who are in advanced age are encountering severe emotional deprivation.

(2) **Medical Problems:** Generally, the people are poor; their health is failing and particularly so in the case of the aged. Due to lack of proper food and such other facilities they are exposed to various diseases. The sons and others are found to be not taking as much care as they are expected to. Besides, there is lack of medical facilities in the rural areas, and there is lack of transport facility to take the aged to urban centres for treatment. Even in the cities, where medical facilities are available, due to overcrowding and defective administration, the aged are not getting proper care. The aged, therefore, not only suffer from severe diseases but also become agents of communicable diseases.

(3) **Economic Problems:** The aged and the children are really an asset to the village community. To look after the infants when their parents are away, and to do some domestic chores the aged are very useful. But, due to changes in other areas, there are also changes in this sphere. It is particularly true in the case of the aged in the cities. After their retirement a wide void faces them. They become absolutely

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8. Marulasiddaiah, H.M., p. 145.

useless, as they have not usually planned ahead to adjust to the changed conditions. Moreover, it becomes rather difficult for them to get employment when the problem of unemployment is very severe. So the aged cease to be productive. This, in turn, brings about problems with regard to food, clothing, shelter and recreation, and emotional and medical problems.

All these problems are not independent of one another. Instead, they are functionally connected. Their degree of severity varies with the sex, stage of age, caste, proximity of relatives, nature of the community etc., as suggested earlier. For instance, in Makunti it is the lowest born, the poorest, the advanced in age and the widowed who suffer most. So the problems are to be understood against these conditions.

Traditional Measures of Security:

It is not that the aged are encountering problems only now, but the problems they encounter are varied and severe, and the traditional security measures are undergoing changes.

Before we begin to deal with the welfare measures that the local authorities may undertake, let us briefly understand the traditional ways of meeting the problems. These ways or measures were built into the social structure and, therefore, they are considered to be the ways of living.

(i) **Marriage Among the Kin:** Mysore villages are known for their kinship network. Many a time kin-group and sub-caste group are identical. There is a custom of arranging marriage between maternal uncle and cross-niece, or between cross-cousins. As a result of this type of marriage the aged get either their grand-daughters or their cross-nieces as their daughters-in-law. The marriage has thus strengthened the blood relationship. That is how the aged have a feeling of security.

(ii) **Matrilocality:** In case one has no male children, one can bring a son-in-law and keep him in one's house. This is called '*Mane Aliyatana*' in Kannada. Because of this, the aged will get the services of the daughter, who is supposed to be a better helper than the son, and the son-in-law will remain ever grateful to his parents-in-law and therefore protect them with devotion.

(iii) **Jeetha System:** There is a system of keeping one's son in any of the agriculturist's family for a number of years on condition that the master will pay the parents of the boy a measure of grain and/ or fixed amount of money, food and clothes to the boy. The aged can always rely on the help of the master-agriculturist.

(iv) **Seniority:** According to tradition, it is the eldest in the family (particularly the male member)who is the owner of the property and head of the family. If the members want to get the property divided, it could be only after the death of the parents. So the possession of property and the traditional respect for the parents stand in good stead for the aged.

(v) **'Jeevanamsa':** In case the sons get the property divided, it is obligatory on their part to set a portion of property apart for the livelihood of the parents. The son who protects the parents has the right to enjoy the property given to them. In case there is no property, the sons are obliged to pay a fixed measure of grains, money and clothes to the parents. This is called '*Jeevanamsa*'.

(vi) **Jogathihood:** In Makunti, there is a system by which an aged woman can become a religious beggar. She who becomes thus is called '*Jogathi*', a devotee of Goddess Yellamma, an important Goddess of the region. The Jogathi can approach any one for alms and it is considered to be sinful to refuse giving alms.

These are some of the important ways in which the aged can manage to meet the problems. But changes in these are also witnessed. That is why the problems are becoming severe and greater in number.

Coming to the welfare measures, it should be said at the outset that no serious attempt is made either by the Government or by the voluntary welfare agencies. The reason is that those who are to organize the services are, it appears, under the impression that old age is not a problem in India.[9] In Bangalore, there are two voluntary welfare agencies (both organized by Christians) meant for the aged. There are five more agencies (one is the beggars' home run by the Government) that take in the aged also if they are cured lepers, destitute wanderers, incurably diseased, physically disabled or beggars. The Municipal Corporation of Bangalore is helping some of such agencies in the form of annual grants.

Since 1964, the State Government is paying old age pension to the destitutes who are 70 years of age and above. This old age pension scheme is administered by the revenue officials. (Strangely, the Directorate of Social Welfare has no part in its administration.)

Apart from these, either the village panchayats, municipalities and municipal corporations or the State Government have not been doing anything to relieve the suffering of the aged.[10]

9. When I was interviewing considerably a well-known social worker in Bangalore she said that old age was not a problem in India.

10. I learn that the State Govt. has issued directions to all its employees to look after their parents. According to the directions the employees are liable for punishment in case they neglect their parents.

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ŚŪNYA IN VĪRAŚAIVISM*

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A special feature of almost all the major Tāntric (Āgamic) schools
is this, that they make use of the concept of *Śūnya* either in the
metaphysical sense or the mystical sense. According to *Vaisṇavism*, it
is a stage when *Visṇu* is about to create the world but has not yet
started creation.[1] *Śūnya* in Kashmir-Śaivism is a stage of latent urges,
which are not yet active.[2] These two schools use it for a reality lower
than the highest Reality. *Śūnya* for these two schools is a stage of
experience which is indeterminate and without form. *Śūnya* in Śaiva-
gamas is the Absolute;[3] in Buddhists it is the highest Being.[4] Vīra-
śaivism is a branch of Śaivism.[5] It is said to be in the final phase of the
Āgama.[6] *Śūnya* is the central concept in Vīraśaivism which is to be
shown in this paper.

Vīraśaiva mystic-philosophers, the authors of the Śaivāgamas
and the Vacanāgamas, tried to understand the kernel of the universe
in numbers. They followed the Vedic seer who is the precursor of the
number philosophy and mysticism.[7] The Ṛgvedic seer in the East and
Pythagoras in the West[8] are the first practicants of the number mysti-
cism and number philosophy. '*Eka*' in the Veda is being given the
dimension of the Reality,[9] whereas Pythagoras has given the space
dimension to the numbers.[10] It is stated in the Yajurveda (X) that in
the beginning there was one (*Eka*) which is Rudra. It is this *Eka* which
is Rudra that is termed *Eka Vrātya*.[11] For the Vedic Ṛsis the state of
Avyakta is one and was expressed through symbols.[12] "The Original
Vedic idea about Rudra was originally one and also with innumerable
forms."

The one in the Vedic sense is not an arithmetical one. It is one
and at the same time many. It is the unity that underlies the diversity
The one symbolises the supremacy of Rudra at least once in the
Ṛgveda.[13] We find the supremacy of Rudra in the Atharva Veda.[14]
It is this Rudra who is one only. This is the henotheistic tendency or
shifting tendency of supremacy which anticipated the non-dualistic
nature of Rudra. The love for one drove away the many gods of the
Veda which led at last to the removal of Buddha from the Indian
scene. 'One' of the Veda, namely Rudra, became the Absolute of the
metaphysics and the God of the religion. This supremacy is reached by
Eko-Rudra through mysterious movement, says Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.
The movement of one-Rudra begins as the physical force in the Veda,

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the biological force in the Brāhmaṇa, and the absolute with conscious force in the Upaniṣad. The development of the Absolutistic concept of Rudra beginning as a physical force and ending as the spiritual seems to be scientific and logical. The Brāhmaṇas borrowed the number method used by the saṁhitas, which is conspicuous.[15] It is the number method and philosophy of the Veda, Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣad with which the method and philosophy of Vīraśaivism agree. But it is unlike the Sānkhya. Because Sānkhya is pluralistic whereas Ṣaṭsthala school is non-dualistic or monistic.[16] The 'two' in Sānkhya could not be reduced to 'one'; because the number 'two' stands for the ultimate principles, *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa*. The 'two' in Ṣaṭsthala School is reducible to 'one'. Therefore the 'two' in Sānkhya system and Ṣaṭsthala system is not of the same nature metaphysically as some modern scholars think.[17] The 'one' in Ṣaṭsthala is not numerically one but in essence. For numerical oneness would either exclude multiplicity or could be pluralistic.[18] The One, Saccidānanda, which is the ultimate number either in the Vedic or in the Vedāntic sense, is not the ultimate number according to the Ṣaṭsthala school. The One, according to Vacanāgama, recedes ultimately in Śūnya or Bayalu.[19] This is the logical end reached in number method by the oriental thinkers, which is a progress in number philosophy and mysticism. This *Śūnya* is the highest Reality in Vīraśaisivm at which the Ṣaṭsthala school arrived by making use of the number method.

Śūnya is also reached by another method. It is made use of by the Vedic seers for the first. It is the synthetic view with which the Vedic seer is inspired. This monistic approach to the problem of the ultimate ground of things led to the realisation of non-Being or Asat out of which the Being came into existence. It is here in the realisation of Non-Being we have the suggestion for the idea of *Śūnya*. The metaphysical counterpart of *Asat* is recognised in the Absolute or Void of the Buddhists. It is to be remembered that the conception of the primary void or Night could be met with even in Greek philosophy in the theory of Epimenides.[20] The idea of *Asat* first visualised by the Ṛgvedic seer reoccurs in the Chāndogya and Bṛhadārṇyaka, Taittarīya Brāhmaṇa and Taittarīya Upaniṣad. The *Asat* either in the Veda or Upaniṣads is not used in the sense of eristic philosophy of Gorgias but in the sense of the positive philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. It is to this primary substance out of which the Being evolved the term *Śūnya* is aptly used by the Ṣaṭsthala school.[21] *Śūnya* is said to be self-born.[22] *Śūnya* does not mean merely spacelessness. It could be understood in a positive sense. Those who have studied the Buddhistic philosophy, know that some of the Buddhists themselves have interpreted *Nirvāṇa* in the positive sense.[23] *Śūnya* is not negation or naught. It is that which needs no other support but itself.[24] This definition of

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Śūnya in a way resembles that of the substance of Spinoza. Vīraśaiva mystic philosophers say that the *Śūnya* is termed differently in *Tantra* and *Vedānta*. *Śūnya* in *Vedānta* is '*Praṇava*'. *Śūnya* according to *Tantra* is 'Hakāra'. '*Praṇava*' and '*Hakāra*' are not different principles.[25] *Śūnya* has as many as ten synonyms.[26] *Praṇava* is Parabrahma according to Bhartṛhari. *Praṇava* is *Īśvara* according to Śankara. But *Praṇava* which is *Śūnya* has both the counterparts in *Śūnyalinga* and *Mahālinga* respectively in Ṣaṭsthala school.

Ṣaṭsthala school in Vīraśaivism classifies *Śūnya* into three kinds of categories. They are *Angatattva*, *Lingatattva* and *Śūnyalingatattva*. The first two could be translated as empirical category and transcendental category; the third one as supra-transcendental category. They are *sthūla*, *sūkṣma* and *kāraṇa*, to put in other words. Ṣaṭsthala school like some of the Indian schools is monistic or non-dualistic. *Śūnya* of Mahāyāna in Buddhism and *Parabrahma* of Advaita in Vedānta may be compared with the *Śūnya* of Ṣaṭsthala Siddhānta in Vīraśaivism.

Ṣaṭsthala school, Advaita school, Mādhyamika school reach the *Śūnya* or Absolute differently though all of them have a common goal. We have the term illusion used by all the Absolutists. The term illusion differs from system to system. The word illusion for the Advaita has a quite different connotation from the one we have in Mādhyamika. The world is void or *Śūnya* for the Madhyamika school of thought not because of the mistake or wrong understanding of the given as in Advaita but because there is nothing in the flux of things which continues to be through all change. Therefore Madhyamika says that there is neither eternality nor non-eternality. So also Ṣaṭsthala school uses the word *Māyā* or illusion not in the Advaitic sense. *Māyā* is ignorance. Ignorance is that *Śiva* and *Śakti* are two independent realities. The release consists not in separating *Śiva* from *Śakti* as in Sānkhya but in their union. Therefore all this is *Brahma* or *Linga: sarvaṁ khalvidaṁ brahma, sarvaṁ lingamayaṁ jagat.*

Ṣaṭsthalādvaita accepts *Brahmapariṇāmavāda*; whereas Śankarādvaita *Vikṛtipariṇāmavāda*. Ṣaṭsthala school advocates in a sense *Satkāryavāda* but Śankarādvaita the *Asatkāryavāda*. Therefore Ṣaṭsthala school is cosmism and Śankarādvaita is acosmism. Śankarādvaita adumbrates *adhyārōpavāda* whereas Ṣaṭsthala school the *Vikāsavāda*. Of the Ṣaṭsthala school is unlike the Sānkhya theory of evolution. Śankarādvaita is abstract monism. It is monism because the ultimate reality is one. It is abstract because one alone is substance and it does not produce distinct and indivudual things. One alone is real and the many are unreal or illusion.[27] Ṣaṭsthalādvaita is concrete monism. It is concrete because the One which is the ground of all evolved into many which are not unreal.[28] It is monism because the many are not

different from the One which is the substance of all of them. The force
that involves the act of evolution is inherent in the substance. There-
fore the substance is not passive like *Parabrahma* of Advaita. It is said
to be having a reflective force (*Vimarśaśakti*). Therefore *Karma* is not
nescience according to Ṣaṭsthala school whereas it is nescience accord-
ing to Śaṅkarādvaita. Noumenon and phenomenon are same according
to Ṣaṭsthala school. But they are not same according to Advaita
Vedānta.[29] *Mukti* is 'here after' in Advaita. But it is 'here and now
only' according to Ṣaṭstfala school.

Another absolutistic school to be compared with Ṣaṭsathlādvaita
is Mādhyamika school of Mahāyānism as pointed out by Dr. R. D.
Ranade.[30] *Śūnya*, according to Ṣaṭsthala, is one without the second
that gives expression to all the multiplicity and yet transcends all.
Śūnya, therefore, as a conscious force (*cicchakti*) is immanent in
everything and as the lord of that conscious force owns *Śakti* as the
force of Himself,[31] which is not other than Himself.[32] *Śūnya*, *Bayalu*,
Liṅga are synonyms just as *Śūnya*, *Nirvāṇa* and *pratityasamutpada* are
synonyms in Mādhyamika school.

All the founders of the philosophical schools of the orthodox and
the heterdox like Jains state that *Śūnya* of the Buddhists is non-being.
But the Prajñāpāramita texts, on which the Mādhyamika school is
found, do not admit of such statements. Max Muller who was the
first to point out the fact, says, "If we look in Dhammapada at every
passage where *Nirvāṇa* is mentioned, there is not one which would
require that its meaning should be a nihilism."[33] *Śūnyatā* is not
absolute non-being. *Śūnyatā* is *pratītya-samutpāda*. From the stand-
point of the Absolute *pratītyasamutpāda* means non-origination at all
times and is equated with *Nirvāṇa*.[34] *Śūnya* then again the indescrib-
able absolute," which is taught by the Mādhyamikas to be the sole
reality and also the *Vijñāna* or consciousness, which according to
Yogacaranys is the sole reality—Both of these are described as being
indescribable as *Vajra*."[25] *Śūnya* is immanent as Logos in the Greeks,
as *Tao* in the Chinese[36] and as *Rudra-Shiva* in the Śvetāśvatara. It is
clear from this that the suchness (*Tathatā*), voidness (*Śūnyatā*), *Nir-
vāṇa* and profoundness are identical. They are indestructible, consti-
tute true or perfect knowledge. According to this description of Void-
ness, suchness, or *Nirvāṇa* "they are not the name of non-being
but of an absolute ultimate entity, which, in the Vajracchēdikā, has
even been identified with the *Tathāgata*, and hence there is no reason
to call the philosophy of the Pāramitas nihilism or negativism."[37]

In Buddhism in general and in Madhyamika in particular there
are two kinds of reality, namely, *Samvṛtti* and *paramārtha*. *Saṁvṛtti*
is the conventional or empirical reality. *Paramārtha* is higher or trans-
cendental reality. "There is no difference between *Samsāra* (pheno-

menal world) and *nirvāṇa* or *śūnyatā* (reality)."[38] It is here, the doctrine "*ī sākārave ā sākāra*" of Ṣaṭsthala school fundamentally agrees with the Madhyamika school. The empirical and the transcendental realities according to both the schools are not diametrically opposite, as in Advaita Vedānta. But Ṣaṭsthala school and Mādhyamika school disagree as the former accepts the unfoldment of Reality based on the theory of evolution and the latter does not want 'the unfoldment of the world'.[39]

The Satsthala school classifies *Śūnya* into *Sarvaśūnya nirālambasṛṣti*, *Śūnya nirālambasṛṣti* and *Nirmalasṛṣti of Īśānyamūrti*.[40] *Sarvaśūnyanirālambasṛṣti* consists of *Kāraṇatattva*. Therefore it is said to be *nirākāra* or *Niṣkala*. *Śūnyanirālambasṛṣti* consists of *sūkṣmattattva*. Therefore it is said to be *sākāranirākāra* or *Sakalaniḥkala*. The *Nirmalasṛṣti of Īśānyamurti* consists of *Sthūlatattva*. Therefore it is said to be *sākāra* or *sakala*. The *evolution's* seed is the *Śūnyaśakti*.[41] This *Śūnyaśakti* or *Liṅgaśakti* is bipolar-motivated. The one is *pravṛtti* and the other *nivṛtti*. *Nivṛttiśakti* is *Bhakti* (devotion) which shows that it is *Liṅga* and *Liṅga* alone that is evolving and experiencing through itself and in itself. This experience is *Śivānubhava* or *Liṅgānubhava*. Therefore at this stage *Śivānubhavi* realises that he has not the body consisting of five elements but of five *Liṅgas*. Hence *Śaraṇa* is said to be having a body turned to *Liṅga*.[43] This is *Liṅga* and *aṅga* *sāmarasya*.

The Buddhism on the other hand does not accept the unfoldment of the *Śūnya* into the universe. Transcendence is the view of the *Śūnya*. It is apart from the universe of which one is to become conscious. The becoming conscious of this *Śūnyatā* is *prajñā* or highest knowledge. It is enlightenment. But one thing is clear that the doctrine of '*upāya*' agrees with the doctrine of *Vīraśaivasadbhakti*. This passive all-embracing female principle unites with tne dynamic male principle of active universal love, compassion, which represents the means for the realization of *prajñā* and *Śūnyatā*, then perfect *Buddhahood* is attained.[44] One may trace this *Upāya* to the Śvetāśvataropaniṣad to which Buddha was introduced by his teachers Ālārakālāma, Rudraka Rāmaputra.

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THE FOUNDATION OF VIJAYANAGARA

P. B. DESAI

The credit for the foundation of the Vijayanagara kingdom goes to the lead taken by the five enterprising sons of Sangama, a petty chief of noble traditions, claiming descent in the Yādava lineage. They were Harihara, Bukka, Kampaṇṇa, Mārappa and Muddappa. However, on account of the prominent role played by them, only the first two are generally associated with the event. But scholars are not agreed regarding the nationality, original home and early affiliations of these brothers and how they founded the new kingdom. No clear and full picture of the actual happenings being available through faithful contemporary sources like the inscriptions, authors have advanced conflicting views on these questions.

Thus the foundation of Vijayanagara has remained an unsettled problem in Indian history. Although much has been written on the subject and writers have presented their own view-points with positive conclusions, there exists a wide divergence of opinion. Hence, we propose to critically examine the thesis here afresh proceeding on the accepted principles of historical research and interpretation.

Principles of Historical Writing

While approaching this proposition we bear in mind the following three accepted principles of historical writing. One: epigraphical evidence, contemporary and relevant, wherever available, has to be considered by far the most authentic testimony which should not be ignored or brushed aside in preference to other sources of information. Two: the literary statements of contemporary and near contemporary writers are normally reliable. Still, they have to be critically examined before their acceptance. Particularly, when such accounts are motivated, emanating in uncongenial atmosphere, their historicity and truthfulness have to be called into question. Three: accounts remote from the point of time and space or unrelated to the actual area of occurrence, have to be treated with caution, unless they are supported by the factors like rationality, probability and cogent proof.

Muslim Writers

Keeping in view these sound principles, we first examine the statements of three contemporary or near contemporary Muslim writers.

According to Barani, in the reign of Muhammad Tughlak a rebellion against the Muslim rule arose under the leadership of Kanyā Nāyak in the Warangal region. This resulted in the flight of the

Sultan's governor of the province to Delhi. About the same time, a relation of Kanyā Nāyak whom the Delhi Sultan had sent to the Kampili region as its governor, apostatized from Islam and stirred up a revolt. This was successful and the territory was lost to the Hindus.[1]

Ibn Batuta's version differs in certain details. After describing the subjugation of the Kampili principality by the Sultan's forces, he informs that eleven sons of its ruler were taken as prisoners to Delhi and converted to Islam. Three of them became the trusted servants of the Sultan.[2]

Isamy speaks of the loss of territories to the Delhi Sultan as a result of the rebellions in different parts of the empire and alludes to the seizure of the country from Gutti to Ma'bar (south-eastern coastal region) by an apostate.[3]

Some scholars have put together the above statements and assumed them as reliable evidences on the foundation of Vijayanagara. They have identified the relation of Kanyā Nāyak of Barani's narrative and the apostate in Isamy's account as Harihara. Further, two of the convert sons of the Kampili ruler in Ibn Batuta's narration have bee npresumed to be none else than Harihara and Bukka.[4]

Discrepancies

Before entering into the critical examination of these assumptions, we shall first note the discrepancies that exist in the above three narrations which are believed to be acceptable on account of the proximity in time of their authors. Ibn Batuta does not mention the Warangal affairs and the connection between the rebellions at Warangal and Kampili. Further, his reference to the eleven sons of the Kampili ruler who became converts, is baseless. We know from literary sources that all the members of the royal family of the Kampili ruler including his heroic son Rāmanātha fought bravely and died on the battle field.[5]

Critical Considerations

In this context we may also refer to the story, though confused and erroneous, of Nuniz who wrote in the sixteenth century. He purports to say: In the war against the Sultan all the members of the royal family of Ānegondi (i.e. Kampili) died and his six old officials were captured and taken to Delhi. Two of them were later sent to govern over the Hampi region. It would be strange imagination to connect the two old officials with youthful Harihara and Bukka.[6]

If we consider the political conditions amidst which emerged the new state of Vijayanagara we have to heavily discount the assertions of these writers. The country was in a state of tumult and turmoil and it was difficult for a remote onlooker to describe the occurrences in the proper perspective and to precisely identify the personages who

were involved in the strife. None of the above writers could claim to be eye-witnesses or close observers of the events they were narrating. Nor could they be called impartial narrators.

Barani wrote from Delhi in the court of Feroz Shah (1351-88 A.D.) some two decades afterwards (c. 1357 A.D.).[7] Isamy completed his work in an anti-Vijayanagara atmosphere in the Bahmani court about a quarter of a century later (c. 1359 A. D.).[8] Ibn Batuta travelled in India in Muhammad Tughlak's reign. He collected information in the course of his travels in north and south India and compiled his account from the notes after his return to Africa about three decades subsequently (c. 1370 A.D.).[9] He had therefore to rely on hearsay and second-hand reports from interested persons of set leanings, not always well-informed and unbiassed. It would thus be misleading to treat the accounts of these writers as authoritative treatises on Vijayanagara history.[10]

Affirmations

Before proceeding further we may make the following affirmations. It would be presumptuous to stress the identity of the relation of Kanyā Nāyak who, as stated by Barani, founded the kingdom in the Kampili region, with Harihara, as there is no evidence to support the assertion. Dynastically no relationship existed between Kanyā Nāyak and Harihara. The former is said to be a son of Kākaītya Pratāparudra and the latter was a Sangama. Further, it would be a flagrant violation of the principles of historical reconstruction to postulate the connection of the surviving members of the ruling family of Kampili after its destruction (in fact, none survived) with the founders of Vijayanagara, the sons of Sangama, Harihara, Bukka and others who belonged to an entirely different family altogether. Ibn Batuta does not state that two convert sons of the Kampili ruler later went to the Hampi region and founded the kingdom. It would again be unwarranted to identify Isamy's apostate with Harihara as no valid grounds exist for such an identification.

Conversion

As for the conversion, it was the refrain and familiar theme of Muslim writers against the 'infidels'. No doubt, it was in the air and conversions were taking place on a large scale. It is one thing to generalise the occurrences, and another to cite particular instances which could be tested and fitted in the scheme of events. As attested by Ibn Batuta, conversions must have taken place in the aftermath of Kampili. But there is little factual relevance to foist the affair without evidence on Harihara and Bukka. By no stretch of imagination can we identify the alleged convert sons of the Kampili ruler with Harihara

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and Bukka. Both Barani and Isamy are unanimous in mentioning *one* apostate and not *two*. But the real problem is about his identity. It is a facile presumption to argue that it was Harihara and none else. This is a glaring instance of *petitio principii*. If the apostate was really Harihara, such an opportunist would not have been accepted as their leader by the orthodox Hindu circles of that age. It has further to be noted in this context that there is absolutely no hint of conversion and reversion in any of the writings on the Hindu side.

An eminent authority on the Muslim sources of the period, Prof. H. K. Sherwani, to whom the question was specifically referred, categorically asserts that he has not come across a single reference in any of the authorities of the period that Harihara and Bukka had been converted to Islam.[11]

Hindu Accounts

Now we pass on to the Hindu works which contain passages pertaining to the foundation of Vijayanagara. The central part of the narrative may be summed up as follows:

Harihara and Bukka were two officials serving as the custodians of the treasury under Pratāparudra, the Kākatīya ruler of Warangal. After the destruction of this kingdom by the Delhi Sultan, they fled to the Hampi region. They fought with the king Ballāḷa and were defeated. Then they took service under Rāmanātha, the ruler of Kampili. When this kingdom was subjugated they were taken to Delhi as captives. Impressed by their fortitude and loyalty the Sultan sent them as his deputies to govern the Karnāṭa country. There they met the sage Vidyāraṇya and with his blessings founded a kingdom at Ānegondi on the bank of the Tungabhadrā.

This anecdote occurs in its variant forms of long and short versions with more or less details. The works which furnish these accounts are in the following chronological order: *Vidyāraṇya-Kālajñāna*[12] (Sanskrit), *Vidyāraṇya-Vṛittānta*[13] (Kannada) *Rājakālanirṇaya*[14] (Sanskrit), *Pitāmaha-Saṁhitā* (Sanskrit), *Śivatattvaratnākara*[15] (Sanskrit) and *Keḷadinṛipavijaya*[16] (Kannada). The story is reproduced and cited in a few other literary works also.

Their Scrutiny

The above account is implicitly believed by some modern historiographers who have given it wide currency by frequent repetitions. It has not been properly scrutinized by applying the methods of historical research. Still, it has been largely accepted as true history. Hence we consider it imperative to examine this theory thoroughly and critically. The following facts emerge from a judicious study of this version.

Firstly, the sources mentioned above belong to the period ranging from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The first among them, the *Vidyāraṇya-Kālajñāna*, purports to draw an account, though erroneous, of the rule of the Sangama dynasty till it ended, i.e. 1485 A.D. It is alleged that the sketch was prepared as narrated by Vidyāraṇya who, as we know, actually lived in the second half of the fourteenth century. As for the term *Kālajñāna*, the Vīraśaiva writers of Karnataka in the sixteenth and later centuries popularised the devise of relating the past events in the form of predictions.[17] This is known as *Kālajñāna*. The above literary piece is more legendary and far less historical in many respects. The Vīraśaiva influence can clearly be detected in the above *Kālajñāna* from an allusion therein to the advent of Rēvaṇasiddha Yōgi.

The last of the series, the *Keḷadinṛipavijaya* which abounds in late legendary material, makes some fanciful statements like the matrimonial alliances of Harihara and Bukka with the Kuruba, i. e. shepherd families. This work was completed about the end of the eighteenth century. From this it becomes evident that all these literary accounts, besides being late by three to five centuries, are of the nature of popular legends and floating traditions. To attempt to build up history on such fragile materials having no firm base of history, would lead us astray from the path of true history.

The Warangal Origin

Secondly, the statement that Harihara and Bukka were originally at Warangal serving under Pratāparudra, lacks the support of genuine evidence. If they were really responsible officers in that kingdom, as alleged, it is quite strange and surprising that they figure in none of the records of the reign of Pratāparudra, and for that matter nowhere else in the political literature of the period, although a good number of other officials and chiefs of this reign are known from inscriptions and other sources. Further, it is inexplicable why, instead of remaining loyal and on the spot in the time of distress to serve their people and country as loyal officers of the state, they fled like mercenary soldiers of fortune to another kingdom, namely that of Kampili, whose relations with their home province were unfriendly. This is vouched if we study the events of Pratāparudra's reign and the activities of Rāmanātha of Kampili, narrated in detail in the Kannada literary works.[18]

In a late Kannada work, viz. the *Kumāra-rāmacharita* of the sixteenth century and other similar works, relating the story of the above Rāmanātha, occur the names Bhāva Sangama, Bhaṇḍāri Harihara and Bhaṇḍāri Bukka.[19] This Bhāva Sangama was brother-in-law of Rāmanātha. He had no connection with Harihara's father Sangama.

Some writers have sought to identify the next two personages bearing the attribute Bhaṇḍāri with Harihara and Bukka of Vijayanagara without any grounds whatsoever. There is no other argument except the identity of names to substantiate this view. Mere identical names themselves are the most deceptive phenomena in historical reconstruction. The other consideration that militates against this opinion is that in the literary works they are introduced in a casual manner without reference to their kinship and distinguished status. Besides the above narrative, there are two more literary works in Kannada describing the life of Rāmanātha. In none of these works do we come across a reference to the taking service of Harihara and Bukka of Vijayanagara under Rāmanātha. If this was really a historical fact, the authors would not have failed to mention such an important and creditable position.

Thirdly, the entire edifice of the Warangal origin theory of the founders is demolished by the most authentic and unimpeachable testimony of epigraphs. If the founders of Vijayanagara did really hail from Warangal, it is beyond comprehension why among the large number of contemporary inscriptions on stone and copper plates of the Sangama dynasty discovered so far, there is not a single record, making a passing reference, or even the faintest suggestion, to connect the founders of Vijayanagara with the Telugu country or the kingdom of Warangal.[20] If they had actually stayed at Warangal and served in the Kākatīya court earlier, there was nothing derogatory in mentioning this fact. On the contrary, their connection with the distinguished royal family would certainly have enhanced their prestige and reputation.

A Nellore Inscription

Following the wrong course of historical reconstruction, a lone epigraphical instance of questionable interpretation has been cited by Prof. N. Venkataramanayya to prop up the preconceived notion of Warangal origin of the founders of Vijayanagara. This is an inscription from Gozalavīḍu *alias* Vāgupalli in Kanigiri Taluk of Nellore District.[21] It introduces the illustrious Vijayanagara ruler Bukkarāya Oḍeya and no Kākatīya ruler. Judging from his sovereign title *Samastabhuva-nāśraya*, his characteristic epithets, some of which are Kannada, viz. *Arirāyavibhāḍa, Mūrurāyara-gaṇḍa, Bhāshege-tappuva-rāyara-gaṇḍa* and the like, commonly associated with the Vijayanagara kings, and also his description as the worshipper of the god Virūpāksha, the tutelary deity of Vijayanagara, this Bukkarāya could be none else than Bukka I (1356-77 A.D.), the co-founder of Vijayanagara. The published text of the record is defective and we have positive proof[22] to assert that the date of the epigraph is Śaka 1296 (1374 A.D.) only and not

Śaka 1236 (1314 A.D.). **This epigraphic evidence cuts the very root of the Warangal origin of the founders.**

It is interesting to note that another inscription dated just three years later (1377 A.D.), is found at Guruvājipēṭa near-about in the same Kanigiri Taluk. This belongs to the reign of Bukka I's successor, Harihara II.[23] These and other early inscriptions of the Andhra area, it may be noted, are very useful otherwise, as they substantiate the claims of Harihara I and his brothers that they were masters of the eastern and western seas.

Without proper scrutiny, the Gozalavīḍu inscription was first taken by the above scholar to be a Kākatīya record and Bukkarāya Oḍeya was identified with Sangama's father Bukka.[24] The epigraph, as seen above, has no trace of Kākatīya connection. Further, the proposed identification of Bukkarāya is untenable; for, Harihara's father Sangama and grand-father Bukka, were almost insignificant chiefs of some local status, who are never known to have assumed distinguished titles and set up any epigraphical records. Subsequently, this Bukkarāya was taken to be Bukka I, serving as a subordinate of Kākatīya Pratāparudra in 1314 A.D.[25] But, as discussed above, this is a presumption having absolutely no basis of reliable evidence. Chronologically, it bears no scrutiny and is inconsistent with historical facts.

Historical Instances

There are instances in history, of enterprising chiefs migrating from one region and settling in another, who recall their original home, ancestry and nationality with due pride for a long time to come. The most outstanding instances are the Sēnas of Bengal and Karṇāṭas of Mithilā (northern Bihar), who invariably mention in their official records the fact of their having originally belonged to the Kshatriya clan of Karṇāṭa.[26] Similarly, if Harihara and Bukka were immigrants from Andhra, they and their descendants would have, in one context or another, referred to that event in the records of their family, which are numerous. The Warangal origin theory therefore stands refuted at both the ends, from the inscriptions of Andhra on the one hand and of Karnataka on the other.

Historical Conclusion

The above survey and scrutiny of the various sources in the proper perspective leads to the irresistible historical conclusion that the founders of Vijayanagara never belonged to the Telugu region, serving in the court of Pratāparudra at Warangal. It further disproves the story of their migration to Kampili and seeking service under its ruler. Similarly, we have to dismiss as untrue the account of their captivity and conversion by the Delhi Sultan. It also follows from this that they did not apostatize

and, like political opportunists re-entering into the Hindu fold, found the Hindu kingdom. The whole patched up account has therefore to be discarded as unhistorical jumble.

Lastly, it is possible to suggest how and under what circumstances the Warangal origin theory would have gathered strength and gained wide currency. It appears, the closer contacts that developed between Karṇāṭaka and Telangana regions in the time of Kṛishṇadēvarāya (1509-1529 A.D.) and the patronage extended by this king to the Telugu literature and Telugu poets would have given added force and fillip to this floating tradition.

Light From Epigraphical Sources

Thus, wading through the mass of imperfect and ill-informed statements and late legendary tales, we approach the epigraphical sources in the Kannaḍa country to derive true historical light from their study. Inadequate and incomplete though the material, whatsoever information it provides is none the less decisive and trustworthy, revealing glimpses of historical facts pertaining to the foundation of Vijayanagara.

Regarding the ancestors of the founders enough details are not forthcoming from the epigraphs. This might be due to their not being distinguished personages. Some vague references are found about Harihara's grandfather Bukka. The inscriptions also state that this family belonged to the Yādava lineage. Harihara's father Sangama is spoken of in a number of inscriptions. Of particular significance are the statements which identify him with the Hampi region and the Karṇāṭa country.[27] **This testimony of epigraphs conclusively establishes the fact that the ancestral territory of the founders was Karnataka and that the area round about Hampi constituted their home land.**

Family Ties

Further, the matrimonial alliances and family ties of the founders with the royal houses of the Hoysaḷas and their officers, their political activities and religious convictions and other affiliations would all strengthen the above findings. This may be seen from the following brief review.

Daḍiya Sōmaya was a dignitary of high status, related to Ballāḷa III and holding the responsible posts of general, governor and chief minister in the Hoysaḷa kingdom. He had married the Hoysaḷa king's sister and had two sons, Singeya and Ballappa, both of whom held high offices. Ballappa again had married a daughter of Harihara.[28] Thus, by virtue of his own ability and blood relationship Harihara attained prominence and enjoyed an exalted position in the Hoysaḷa political circles.

Ballāḷa's Foresight

After the conquest of the Kākatīya kingdom (1323 A.D.) and destruction of the Kampili principality (1327 A.D.),[29] the might of the Muslim aggressor was increasingly perceptible on the Hoysaḷa kingdom. From 1330 A.D. onward Ballāḷa III is seen active in the northern frontiers organising the defences against the invader.[30] It was a critical period for this intrepid warrior and statesman. He had passed the age of seventy[31] and was drooping in physical strength. He must have experienced the difficulty of protecting his far-flung dominions from Hampi to Rāmēśvaram against the onslaught of the enemy.

When the governance over a vast kingdom becomes unwieldy, its partition or division is one of the courses some times followed. This was done formerly in the Hoysaḷa regime itself.[32] But such a measure was fraught with danger and unthinkable in the present circumstance. Ballāḷa III had only one son, Virūpāksha Ballāḷa IV; but this prince was incapable of coping up with the situation.[33] Another alternative was the decentralization of authority and delegation of powers. Ballāḷa III adopted this latter course as it was the best suited for the occasion. The most competent and trustworthy among his high officials was *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Harihara who could save the country from the perilous situation. He was youthful and energetic and had manifested his ability by his faithful services to the state and the overlord. He had the advantage of receiving support from his capable brothers. It thus appears, Ballāḷa III gave Harihara a free hand and necessary encouragement to follow his own line of action in the northern part of his dominions.[34] Harihara, as the results show, discharged his task successfully, remaining at the same time steadfastly loyal to his master.

Harihara's Rise To Power

Harihara started on his new venture by consolidating his authority and concentrating his resources in the ancestral region of Hampi. Around this nucleus of his power he was carving out a new kingdom of his own and laying foundations of the mighty, would-be Vijayanagara empire. While the political authority of Harihara was augmenting in the north, the sovereignty of Ballāḷa III was, by loss of vigour, waning in the south. Within a short time of just four years after the tragic death of the Hoysaḷa king in 1342 A.D., the Hoysaḷa dynasty came to an end. By 1346 A.D. the foundations of the new kingdom of Vijayanagara were laid truly and firmly, a large part of the territory to the north and south of the Tungabhadrā having come under the rule of its founders.

Though 1346 A.D. marks the culmination of the above event, it was a gradual rise of power spreading over a decade from 1336 A.D.

onward. The following strides in the ascending order of Harihara's career serve as milestones in his march towards the achievement.

At the strategic town of Bārakūr on the west coast, Harihara constructed a fort in 1336 A.D.[35] This may be considered as a major event in his freedom movement which had gathered momentum by this time. The purpose of establishing the new kingdom and centre of political activity being the liberation of the country from the clutches of the enemies who had stretched themselves from east to west, it was in the fitness of things that Harihara immediately launched his offensive in the two regions and won initial successes within a short time. This is attested by two epigraphical records dated in 1339 and 1340 A.D.

The first, coming from Aṭakalaguṇḍu in Kurnool district, states that Harihara who bore the title *Pūrva-paśchima-samudrādhipati* (Lord of the Eastern and Western Seas), was ruling from Gutti.[36] The second is from Bādāmi which refers to the construction of a fort in this place at the instance of Harihara by his subordinate Chāmarasa.[37] In this inscription Harihara is again described as Lord of the Eastern and Western Seas. Further, he is endowed with the characteristic Vijayanagara sovereign titles, *Arirāyavibhāḍa* and *Bhāshege-tappuva-rāyara-gaṇḍa*, which were familiarised subsequently. In another epigraph of the year 1340 A.D., located in the heart of the Hoysaḷa kingdom, Harihara is seen in a more elevated position. He is given the hyperbolic title, *Chatuḥ-samudrādhipati* (Master of the Four Seas) and said to be ruling the kingdom of the world.[38] He also bore the above Vijayanagara titles.

From a Kannada inscription at Koḍumūru in Kurnool district[39] we come to know that Harihara was functioning from his headquarters at Gutti in the beginning of 1340 A.D. Through this and other allusions to Gutti we may surmise that in the early stage, this chief was operating in the Hampi-Gutti belt which was his stronghold. Stationed in this central position, he could conveniently extend his activities towards the east and west. The title *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāri* (the illustrious Lord of the Treasury) attributed to Harihara in this record is suggestive of his secure financial position.

By 1342 A.D. Harihara's sovereignty was firmly rooted in the western coastal tract and the Muslim governor of Honavar owed his allegiance to him.[40] Next year (1343 A.D.) again he is found enjoying all the supreme titles, *Mahārājādhirāja, Rājaparameśvara, Vīrapratāpa and Mahārāya*.[41] With the death of Ballāḷa IV the Hoysaḷa rule ended in 1346 A.D. By this time Harihara had achieved his objective and was crowned with success, complete and supreme. He had vanquished the enemies and freed the country from their hands. With a view to celebrating the festival of victory he now proceeded to the renowned religi-

ous centre of Śṛingēri, accompanied by his brothers and near relations, and made grants to the venerable pontiff Bhāratī-tīrtha.[42]

We may further note that Harihara's younger brother Kampaṇṇa Oḍeya, bearing the distinguished epithet, Lord of the Eastern and Western Seas, is found ruling in the area around Nellore, slightly later in 1346 A.D. He had under him a chief minister.[43] Obviously, Kampaṇṇa must have been a close associate of Harihara in his freedom struggle.

Thus it becomes clear that Harihara's rise and foundation of the new kingdom of Vijayanagara took place not in defiance and opposition to the authority of his overlord Hoysala Ballala III, but with his cognizance, approval and even active support. There is not a single instance of estrangement and conflict between the master and his subordinate. This is a rare instance of a suzerain giving freedom to his subordinate chief to expand and carve out a new kingdom within his own dominions. The situation was unprecedented and the circumstances extraordinary and hence the needs of the time demanded such a course. In regard to Virūpāksha Ballāla IV, son and successor of Ballāla III, he was weak and had no initiative. As a nominal king he survived till 1346 A.D., three years after his formal coronation in 1343 A.D.[44]

Hoysala-Harihara Amity

These observations are substantiated by a study of the epigraphs speaking from the two sides, Harihara and Ballāla III. Those belonging to the former are noticed above. The following offer their testimony on behalf of the latter.

We have seen that in 1336 A.D. Harihara built a fort at Bārakūr which was an outpost of strategic importance in the Hoysala dominions. Two years later, in 1338 A.D. Ballāla III himself paid a visit to this place to see the army stationed there.[45] Ballāla III again is found at Hampi in 1339 A.D.[46] This was the time when Harihara's influence was growing in the north as seen from the two records of this and the next year, cited above. It was in the latter year (1340 A.D.) that the Hoysala ruler's son prince Virūpāksha was anointed as crown prince at Hampi.[47] The inference drawn on the strength of the above evidence that in 1336 A.D. Harihara was installed as **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara** (Great Provincial Governor) in the northern territory of the Hoysala empire[48] with the support of his overlord, is not only reasonable, but stands as a valid conclusion.

This position becomes perfectly intelligible if we take into account the kinship that existed between the two great dynamic leaders; the noble ideals of preserving their freedom, civilization and culture, that inspired them; mutural understanding, cooperation and harmony in

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following well-thought-of plans; and finally the concerted actions that would lead to the accomplishment of their cherished goal.

Transfer of Power

The installation of Harihara as **Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara** in the Hampi region was pregnant with great consequences. It ushered in within a short time sovereignty and mastery over a large kingdom to the members of the Sangama dynasty. Hence though this designation actually and usually connoted a subordinate position of a provincial governor under an overlord, it proved to be a title of distinction and a symbol of sovereignty in the case of Harihara. Hence, it appears, Harihara and his successors considered it a proud privilege to enjoy this exalted title divested of its normal implications, even when they became independent rulers after the extinction of the Hoysaḷa power. This is attested by numerous inscriptions in which we find Harihara, Bukka, the latter's successor Harihara II and even his later descendant Dēvarāya II assuming the distinguished title **Mahā-maṇḍaleśvara**[49] along with the sovereign and imperial titles like **Mahā-rājādhirāja, Rājaparameśvara** and **Mahārāya.** We may further note that their willing association with this title is a firm evidence of their unflinching loyalty to the Hoysaḷa house. It is attested by the above cited epigraphs and others that there existed no differences and conflict between Ballāḷa III and Harihara. Relying on the assertions in the *Vidyāraṇya-Kālajñāna* etc. some scholars have seen the state of hostile relations between Ballāḷa III and Harihara.[50] This is totally wrong.

The transfer of sovereignty from the Hoysaḷas to the Sangamas was quite smooth. It was as though a succession in the same ruling family. In numerous inscriptions the Vijayanagara rulers refer themselves as ruling over the Hoysaḷa country. This points to their awareness of being the political descendants and heirs of the Hoysaḷas. The officials at the provincial and lower levels in the Hoysaḷa kingdom continued *status quo* in the new regime. The administrative machinery remained unchanged following the same time-honoured procedures and practices. The religious policy of catholicity and tolerance of the Hoysaḷas was similarly practised; it was even implemented on a large scale. The Sangamas were ardent devotees of the gods Śrī-Virūpāksha of Hampi and Śrī-Chennakēśava of Bēlūr, who were devoutly worshipped by their predecessors of the Hoysaḷa house. The family god of the Vijayanagara kings throughout remained a Karnataka deity. The adoption of the pontiffs of Śṛingēri as their revered teachers and spiritual guides and the Pāśupata Kriyāśaktis as their family priests by the Sangamas is yet another testimony of their unquestionable identity with the Hoysaḷa country and Karnataka.[51]

Further Evidence

In addition to what is stated above, a volume of further evidence can be adduced to support and emphasize the conclusion regarding the Kannada affinity and identity of Vijayanagara. However, we note just a few select facts here.

The coins of the early rulers of Vijayanagara followed the earlier models of the Kadambas and the Sēuṇas in having Hanumān and Garuda as their symbolic gods and the legends in Kannada characters.[52]

God Virūpāksha of Hampi was adopted as their tutelary deity by the Vijayanagara kings, particularly of the first Sangama dynasty. The name of this deity was also commonly used as their sign-manual by the ruling kings while issuing their copper-plate charters. It is noteworthy that this sign-manual, viz. Śrī-Virūpāksha, was consistently engraved in Kannada characters at the end of all royal documents which were usually written in Sanskrit and Nāgarī.[53] We may also note the partiality of the Vijayanagara kings for the Kannada titles in particular in the midst of a good number of Sanskrit titles also, which they assumed. The instances to the point are the earliest and almost universal title **Bhāshege-tappuva-rāyara-gaṇḍa** and the subsequent **Gajavēṇṭekāra, Rāya-mī·vara-gaṇḍa** and others.

Sanskrit And Telugu Poets

Gangādēvī in her *Madhurāvijayam* refers to the Vijayanagara territory as Karṇāṭa and describes Bukka I's son Kumāra Kampaṇṇa as the delighter of the Karṇāṭa race.[54]

A matter of outstanding significance is that the Telugu poets and authors of the Vijayanagara period, while mentioning the Vijayanagara kings unequivocally describe them as the Lords of Karṇāṭa and Karṇāṭa kings. For instance, Vinukoṇḍa Vallabharāya in his Telugu poem *Krīḍābhirāmam* calls Bukkarāya I as **Karṇāṭa-kshiti-nātha.**[55] The eminent Telugu poet Śrīnātha who was honoured in the court of Vijayanagara, addresses the Vijayanagara kingdom as **Kannaḍa-rājya-lakshmī** and king Dēvarāya II as **Karṇāṭa-kshitipāla.**[56] Nandi Timmayya, a Telugu poet of Kṛishṇadēvarāya's court refers to the king as **Śrī-Karṇāṭamahīśa** in his *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu.*[57]

Kṛishṇadēvarāya

In spite of his zealous patronage to the Telugu poets and literature, Kṛishṇadēvarāya was widely popular as a Kannada king and unmistakably acclaimed as such by all. He bore the conspicuous title **Kannaḍa-rājya-ramā-ramaṇa** (God Vishṇu, the Lord of the Kannada kingdom). In the Sanskrit drama *Jāṁbavatīkalyāṇam* of this king the tutelary God Virūpāksha of Vijayanagara is praised as **Karṇāṭa-rājya-**

rakshāmaṇi (The Guardian Jewel of Karnāṭa kingdom).[58]   A Telugu inscription at Singarāyakoṇda in Kandukur Taluk of Nellore District, dated 1527 A.D., eulogises this king as Beloved of the Goddess of Karṇāṭa Kingdom (**Karṇāṭa-rājya-lakshmī-manōhara**).[59]   This epigraphical testimony carries over-riding weightage.

Kannada Inscriptions

The stone inscriptions of the Vijayanagara kings found all over the wide areas of Karṇāṭaka throughout their reign period are in Kannaḍa only.   A good number of Kannaḍa inscriptions are found in the Telugu areas also.   An inscription in the Ongole Taluka of Nellore District, of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II, dated c. 1442 A.D., describes the famous hill fort of Udayagiri as situated in the dominions of Karṇāṭaka.[60]   At Udayagiri itself there is a Kannaḍa record describing the conquest of the fort by Kṛishṇadēvarāya.[61] Kannaḍa language and literature progressively flourished during the reigns of the rulers of all the three dynasties, Sangama, Sāḷuva and Tuḷuva.   In the literary works produced in these times and also those belonging to the rule of the later Āravīḍu dynasty which had closer contacts with the Telugu country, Vijayanagara is noticed as Karṇāṭa-rājya and Karṇāṭa-simhāsana.[62]

Historical Distortions

Prof. K. A. N. Sastri's sketch of Vijayanagara in his *A History of South India*[63] is misleading as it is unsupported by facts.   It is distortion of history. The following points emerge from his account.

1.   Harihara and Bukka hailed from Warangal.   After the fall of this kingdom they went to Kampili to serve under its ruler.   After the destruction of this principality by the Sultan they were carried to Delhi and converted to Islam.   Later, as trusted agents of the Sultan they were sent to the Ānegondi region to govern.   Soon they gave up Islam and the cause of Delhi and entering into the Hindu fold again, founded the Vijayanagara kingdom.   Muslim historians and Hindu tradition both agree on this.

2.   Soon after the subjection of Warangal a freedom movement was started in the Telangana area.   After the death of its sponsor Prōlaya Nāyaka, it was continued by his cousin Kāpaya Nāyaka who attempted to restore Hindu rule and Hindu Dharma. Kāpaya allied himself with Ballāḷa III who sent him aid.   Both these leaders succeeded in ousting the Muslim garrisons from the northern districts of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and restored the rule of the native chiefs of the Śambuvarāya family.   Success of the revolts of the Hindu chiefs in the other parts of Telangana com-

pletely broke the power of the Delhi Sultan all over the Deccan except in the Maratha province. In Ma'bar half the territory had been recovered for Hindu rule.

3. This anti-Islamic movement disturbed the loyalty of Harihara and Bukka to the Sultan and kindled in their minds a longing to serve their country and their ancestral religion. Their meeting with Vidyāraṇya furnished them with the means of following the promptings of their hearts. This spiritual leader received them back from Islam to Hinduism and rendered the act acceptable to Hindu society. Thus the trusted Muslim agents of the Sultan turned out to be the founders of one of the greatest Hindu states of history.

4. The people had never willingly accepted Muslim rule. At this time, moreover, they and their leaders were under the influence of a strong revival of Śaivism. In its single - minded devotion to Śiva, its fanatical intolerance of the followers of any other creed and in its ideal of perfect equality among the *bhaktas*, the new Śaivism was a worthy rival of Islam and the impetus it gave to politics had not a little to do with the failure of Tughlak rule.

The above views of the learned historian are no better than a bunch of legends in the modern garb. This becomes clear if we examine them critically. In the first instance, the story of Harihara and Bukka hailing from Warangal, their subsequent service under the rule of Kampili and their capture and conversion to Islam by the Delhi Sultan, is entirely fictitious. Secondly, to cite Hindu tradition in support of their later apostasy which led to the foundation of Vijayanagara is misrepresentation of facts. Thirdly, the impression created by the account about Harihara and Bukka that they were unscrupulous opportunists without character and integrity is perversion of truth. This is realised if we look into the status, career and performance of Harihara as portrayed above with the help of epigraphical sources.

Fourthly, the role of the Telangana Nāyakas in the freedom struggle is exaggerated. It stands to the credit of Prōlaya, Kāpaya and other chiefs of this region who soon rebelled against the alien domination and asserted their independence. But these insurrections were localised and more or less isolated. Evidence is lacking to believe that they formed part of a united and comprehensive plan of action, initiated and led by the Telugu Nāyakas. On the contrary, inscriptional evidence is clear and convincing in the case of the founders of Vijayanagara who had a coordinated plan and broader vision of freeing south India from the enemy's hands, restoring Hindu rule and protecting Hindu religion and culture.

Above all, it is an astounding perversion and fallacy to affirm that Harihara and Bukka were inspired by the example of the Telugu chiefs in their patriotic fervour and noble ideals to rescue Hinduism from the state of annihilation. Ballāḷa's movement, in fact, had started earlier. Later history shows that the freedom-loving Nāyakas of Telangana did not establish any strong and united kingdom of their own like Vijayanagara. On the other hand, the southern Telugu areas were soon merged in this empire, constituting its integrated province under the rule of a governor. This erroneous view stands discredited by the testimony of epigraphs.

Yet another untenable argument is with regard to the role played by the strong revivalist movement of Śaivism and its influence on the leaders of the freedom struggle. This movement had taken place in Karnataka as early as in the twelfth century. Avowedly it was a peaceful, socio-religious, reforming movement and in spite of its emphasis on single-minded devotion to Śiva and disapproval of other creeds it did not meddle with politics. Its comparison with Islam is unwarranted. Secondly, it received a temporary set back in 1167 A.D. and survived in a suppressed state thereafter for about two and a half centuries until its rise in a vitalised frame in the fifteenth century under Vijayanagara.[64] At the time of the foundation of Vijayanagara in the fourteenth century this faith was not in a powerful position. Hence there is no evidence to substantiate the plea. Epigraphical records reveal that the teachers of the Pāśupata school called Kriyāśakti wielded influence with the early Sangama rulers besides the pontiffs of Śringēri. The historical events demonstrate that from the Tungabhadrā to Rāmēśvaram the liberation movement in South India was spontaneous, actuated by the spirit of independence and urge of self-preservation.

⚫ The Vidyāraṇya Problem

Deep-rooted Tradition

The belief based on a deep-rooted tradition is widely prevalent, ascribing the foundation of Vijayanagara to the sage Vidyāraṇya. An oft-cited story related in this context also is that Harihara while on a hunt in the Hampi region, noticed a hare turning against his dogs. When he consulted a hermit nearby about this strange incident, he was told that it was a strong place where he should erect a capital for the kingdom.

Accordingly, Harihara built a city which was known as Vidyā-nagara after the hermit and also named as Vijayanagara ('the city of victory'). The hermit of the story is said to be Mādhavāchārya, subsequently called Vidyāraṇya ('the forest of learning'), who ruled the

kingdom for some time and passed it over to Harihara. Thus Vidyā-
raṇya is believed to be the originator of Vijayanagara and Guru
(preceptor) of its founders.[65]

Vidyāraṇya Comes Late

Apart from the tradition, Vidyāraṇya is known to have been a
great scholar, spiritual guide, saint and renowned pontiff, adorning
the holy monastic establishment at Śṛingēri, founded by Śankarā-
chārya. Modern scholars have questioned the authenticity of the
above tradition on the ground of non-existence of historical evidence
in support of it. The evidence available shows that Vidyāraṇya came
into contact with Vijayanagara two decades after the traditional date
of its foundation in 1336 A.D.

The following facts are noteworthy in this connection. Inscrip-
tions reveal that the teachers belonging to the Kālāmukha or Pāśupata
school of Śaivism, carrying the specific sobriquet Kriyāśakti were the
family priests and royal preceptors (*Rājaguru*) of the early kings of
Vijayanagara.[66] At the same time, it is also proved epigraphically
that the same rulers cherished great attachment and supreme reverence
for the pontiffs of Śṛingēri including Vidyāraṇya.[67] It is seen that after
the foundation of the new kingdom, the five sons of Sangama proceed-
ed to Śṛingēri in 1346 A.D. to pay their tribute and acknowledge their
indebtedness to Vidyātīrtha, the senior pontiff of the monastery and
made liberal grants to his disciple pontiff Bhāratī-tīrtha and others.
Vidyāraṇya is conspicuous by his absence on this august occasion.
In fact, he was not there at that time.

Vidyāraṇya's contact with Vijayanagara begins only in the reign
of Harihara's brother and successor Bukka I. In 1356 A.D. by a special
invitation of the latter, which was endorsed by Vidyātīrtha, Vidyā-
raṇya who was residing in Vārāṇasī, came down to Vijayanagara and
went to Śṛingēri thereafter. In 1375 A.D. Vidyāraṇya succeeded
Vidyātīrtha, according to epigraphs, as the head of the Śṛingēri
Maṭha. He remained in that position till he expired in 1386 A.D.
During this period Bukka I and his son and successor Harihara II
lavishly exhibited their devotion to this teacher.[68]

Prominence of Vidyātīrtha

Thus, it becomes plain that at the time of the foundation of
Vijayanagara, Vidyātīrtha, also called Vidyāśankara, was the leading
pontiff of Śṛingēri Maṭha. Vidyāraṇya was then a junior monk of the
monastery, engaged in studies and spiritual pursuits, residing else-
where, probably most of the time at Vārāṇasī itself. He is said to have
been ordained in 1331 A.D.

Vidyātīrtha is highly praised in inscriptions pertaining to Harihara and Bukka I. Reading through such descriptions we can assume that this Guru of Śṛiṅgēri not only conferred his spiritual blessings for the success of the political venture of the sons of Sangama, but also materially rendered them assistance from the resources at his disposal.[69] This explains the ties of intimacy and deep veneration that developed across the centuries between Śṛiṅgēri Gurus and Vijayanagara kings. Such relationship of the Vijayanagara rulers with Śṛiṅgēri Gurus, particularly during the early period, is not at variance with their employing the Kāḷāmukha teachers as family priests; for no exclusiveness was followed then in the matter of paying respect to more than one venerable teacher at a time and choosing him as guide and preceptor.

Vidyāraṇya's Supremacy

Vidyātīrtha and his younger disciple Vidyāraṇya were highly distinguished personages of the age. By their profound scholarship, subtle philosophical insight, religious leadership, spiritual attainments and ministerial longevity, they wielded vast influence over extensive regions. Vidyāraṇya seems to have even surpassed his master by his proficiency in several branches of knowledge and authorship of many works. Vidyāraṇya's intimacy with and influence over Bukka who was the co-founder of Vijayanagara, might have led to the belief, though erroneous, that this teacher had earlier inspired Harihara also in his undertaking. Historically, we need not fight shy of the name Vidyānagara mentioned in some early inscriptions[70] with reference to Vijayanagara, for we may reasonably connect it with Vidyātīrtha also, if not with Vidyāraṇya. Father Heras has viewed this question with prejudice and unnecessarily cast aspersions on the integrity of the Śṛiṅgēri Gurus as a whole.[71]

If great men radiate their lustre both ways, forward and backward, we can attribute this phenomenon to Vidyāraṇya. With the rise of Vijayanagara in its splendour the stature of Vidyāraṇya rose in the eyes of succeeding generations, eclipsing all.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 245-46.
2. Ibid., p. 615. Their names are given as Nasr, Bakhtiyar and Abu Muslim, the keeper of the seals.
3. K. A. N. Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. II, p. 6.
4. *The Delhi Sultanate* (Bharatiya Vidyabhavan's History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. VI), pp. 271 and 321-22; *Further Sources* (op. cit.) Vol. I, pp. 32-33; K. A. N. Sastri, *A History of South India* (3rd edn.), p. 237.

Gozalaviḍu Inscription of Bukkarāya I
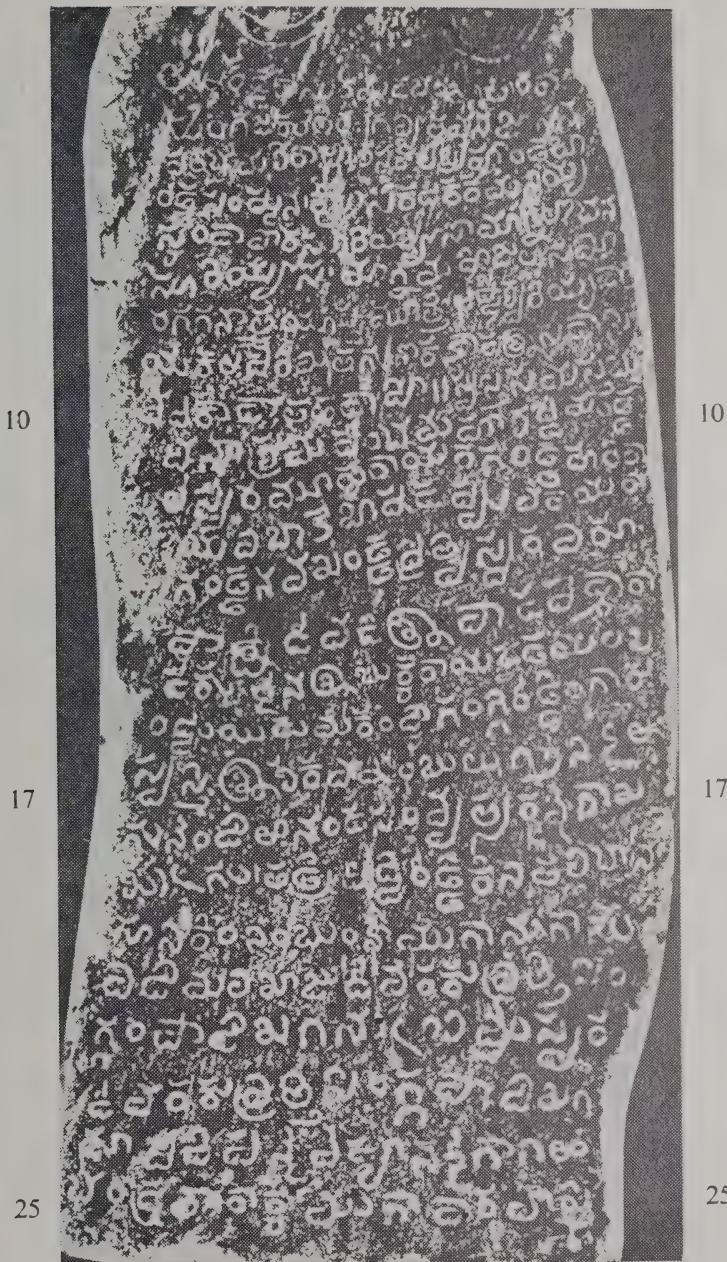
Dated Śaka 1296 (1394 A. D.) – line 17

5. G. Varadarajarao, *Kumārarāmana Sāngatyagaḷu* (Kannada), p. 77, etc.
6. Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire* (Ind- End., 1962), pp. 283-85.
7 R. Sathianathaier, *History of India*, Vol. II (1958), p. 38.
8. K. A. N. Sastri (op. cit.), p. 23.
9. Ibid. p. 29; Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., pp. 585-86.
10. This is not to question the merit of these writers concerning Muslim history.
11. Letter dated 11–3–1959.
12. *Further Sources* (op. cit.), Vol. II, pp. 14-16.
13. Ibid., pp. 12-13.
14. *E. I.*, Vol. XV, p. 10.
15. Kallola IV, Taranga 12.
16. Ed. R. Shama Sastry, pp. 14 ff.
17. P. B. Desai, *Basavesvara and His Times*, pp. 279-81.
18. *The Early History of the Deecan* (Ed. G. Yazdani), Parts VII-XI, pp. 652-53 and 660 ff; *Kumārarāmana Sāngatyagaḷu* (op. cti.), pp. 40 ff, etc.
19. Ibidr, pp. 290-92.
20. This conclusion is irresistible if one goes through all the epigraphical records of the Sangamas, right from the beginning to 1485 A.D.
21. Butterworth and Chetty, *Nellore Inscriptions*, Part II, p. 644.
22. We possess a corrected copy of the volume by the late Government Epigraphist, V. Venkayya. We have recently copied the inscriptions. See the photograph reproduced herewith, line 17.
23. *Nellore Inscriptions* (op. cit.), p. 648.
24. N. Venkataramanayya, *Vijayanagara-Origin of the City and the Empire*, pp. 98-99.
25. *Further Sources* (op. cit.), Vol. I, p. 29 and note.
26. *The Struggle for Empire* (Bharatiya Vidyabhavan's Series, Vol. V), pp. 35 and 47
27. *E. C.*, Vol. III, Ml. 121; Vol. IV, Yd. 46—*Pampāpurīparisarē bhava Samgamā-khyaḥ*, Vol. VIII, T1. 206, etc.
28. Fr. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 91-92; B. A, Saletore *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, Vol. I, pp. 19-20; etc.
29. Sastri, op. cit., p. 237.
30. Heras, op. cit., p. 67.
31. *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 529. In 1342 A.D. he was aged eighty.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 398. Hoysaḷa Sōmēśvara (1235-54 A.D.) partitioned his big kingdom and placed his two sons, Narasimha III and Rāmanātha, as rulers over its two parts.
33. S. Srikantayya, *Founders of Vijayanagara*, p. 86.
34. Saletore, op. cit., pp. 11-12; Heras op. cit., p. 67; *Founders* (above), pp. 84-85.
35. Heras, p. 67.
36. *Further Sources* (op. cit), Vol. II, p. 23. The inscription, it may be noted, is in Kannada.
37. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 63.
38. *E. C.*, Vol. IX, NI. 19.
39. *A. I. R. E.*, 1960-61, B. No. 32.
40. Heras, p. 68.
41. *E. C.*, Vol. V, Ak. 159.
42. Ibid., Vol. VI, Sg. 1.
43. *Nellore Inscriptions*, part II, p. 790.
44. R. Sewell and S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, pp. 187-88 and 190.
45. *E. C.*, Vol. V, Ak. 183.
46. Ibid., Vol. IX, At. 43.
47. Ibid., Bn. 111.

48. Heras, p. 67.
49. Ibid., pp. 111-13.
50. *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 272; *Further Sources*, Vol. I, p. 30; Sastri, op. cit., p. 237.
51. Heras, pp. 114 ff.; Saletore (op. cit). pp, 33 ff.
52. *Vijayanagara Sex-Centenery Commemoration Volume*, p. 111.
53. Saletore, op. cit., p. 36.
54. *Madhurāvijayam*, Canto 1.
55. *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 56.
56. Ibid, pp. 61-62.
57. Ibid., p. 142.
58. Ibid.
59. *Nellore Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 617.
60. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 1020.
61. Ibid,, p, 1383.
62. *Sources* (op. cit)., pp. 249, 280, 293; Saletore, op. cit., p. 39; etc.
63. Third edition, 1965, pp. 236-39
64. P. B. Deasi, op. cit., pp. 276-77
65. Heras, op. cit., pp. 1ff; Saletore, op. cit., pp. 84 ff., etc.
66. Saletore, op. cit., pp, 95, 109 and 110 n. *Kriyāśakti* was the common title of this line of royal priests.
67. E. C., Vol. VI, Sg. 1ff., etc., Saletore, op. cit., pp. 109-110.
68. Heras, op. cit., pp. 15-16; etc.
69. Saletore, op. cit. p. 109; *Vijaya Sex. Com. Vol.* p. 164.
70. Ibid., p. 110.
71. Heras, op. cit., pp. 32-35.

GUILDS OF ARTISANS IN MEDIAEVAL KARNATAKA

S. G. GHATAPANADI

Terms Denoting Guilds of Artisans:

The artisans' guilds are variously referred to in the inscriptions of Karnataka. In some, the term *sēṇi* has been employed to denote such guilds. Perhaps the most popular term used in the inscriptions of Karnataka for guilds of artisans is *kottaḷi*. These guilds are also called as *hiṭṭus*. Some times, such terms as *samudāya, jāti, samaya, okkalu, nakhara*, were also employed to denote the guilds of artisans. The system of referring to such guilds by the name of the profession followed by their members was also not unknown. For example, the guilds of oil-millers' families are frequently referred to as *Telligas* or *Telligarayvattokkalu*.

Before we proceed to determine the factors that might have contributed for employing various terms for the guilds of artisans in Karnataka, it would be necessary to know some details about each type of guild, However, one thing is clear that each professional caste formed a guild of its own. For instance, an inscription from Yēwūr of the time of Vikramāditya VI[1] enumerates various guilds of artisans naming them by their professions suffixed with the term *Kottaḷi* denoting the guild.

Sēṇi:

The term *sēṇi* is undoubtedly a corrupt form of Sanskrit term *shrēṇi*. Vijñānēśwara, the commentator on *Yājñavalkya smṛiti* has defined *shrēṇi* as "an organisation of the people following one and the same profession."[2]

Of such organisations in Karnataka we begin to get information even from the time of the Chālukyās of Bādāmi. The Lakshmēśwar inscription of *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya[2-a] is a valuable evidence not only regarding the existence of the guilds of artisans called as *sēṇi* in Karnataka in early times but also regarding the power they weilded in the administration of the kingdom. This inscription, besides mentioning the guilds of braziers (*Kañchugār sēṇi*) and of oilmongers (*Telliga sēṇi*) prescribes the rates of taxes to be given to the *sēṇi* (guild) every year in the month of Vaiśākha. From this inscription it would be clear that the king had empowered the guilds of artisans to collect the taxes from the peolpe perhaps on his behalf. Another inscription

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1. *E. I.*, XII pp. 332-333.
2. *Mitākṣara on Yājñavalkya*, II, 192.
2-a. *E. I., XIV*, p. 188.

from Lakshmēśwar of the time of Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III[3] records a religious grant in the form of a proportionate quantity of the goods turned out by the weavers, made by the headman of the guild of weavers of the *mūruṁkēri*[4] of Purigere i.e. Lakshmēśwar. Then, an inscription from Shēḍbāḷ (Belgaum District) dated 1156 A.D. of the time of Silahara king Vijayādityadēvarasa[5] prescribes that each *sēṇi*, evidently the guild of weavers, should give some portion of income on the clothes of men. This record seems to suggest that the king used to collect taxes from the guilds which in turn were empowered to collect taxes from its members.

Kottaḷi:

According to Rev. Kittel the term *kottaḷi* would mean an 'assemblage'. The fact that the term *kottaḷi* is found suffixed to the names of professional castes, and their collective activities leave no doubt about their being the guilds of artisans. Thus, the inscription from Yēwūr mentioned above, refers to *kalkuṭiga-gottaḷi*, the guild of stone cutters and *kañchugār-gottaḷi*, the guild of braziers.[6]

According to some inscriptions there were in all one hundred and twenty *kottaḷis* in Karnataka.[7] Since an inscription from Lakkuṇḍi[8] prescribes that the *kottaḷis* should protect the *dharma* as they protect their own *dharma*, it follows that each *kottaḷi* had its own *dharma* and was thus expected to follow certain code of conduct in dealing with public affairs.

Hiṭṭu:

In several inscriptions of Karnataka we come across references to

3. *E. I.* VI, pp. 163-167.

4. The term *mūruṁkēri* has been split by Dr. Fleet as *mūruṁ = kēri* to mean three residential quarters of a village. But the scholar himself is not quite confident about the meaning of the term. For, he says that it seems to be a technical expression the exact purport of which is to be found in connection with the wider meaning of a 'quarter, quarters, a division of a town, which kēri has in . . . . *holegēri* (*E. I.* Vol. VI, pp. 165-166, F. N.). Dr. Fleet seems to be more correct when he infers that the term *mūruṁkēri* seems to be a technical expression. For, it is so. We can split the term as *mūr = uṁkēri*. The term *uṁkēri* is in usage even in present days among the weavers families. *Uṁkēri* is a place where yarn being soaked into starch is spread for getting dried. One *uṁkēri* need not necessarily represent only one family. It is likely that a single *uṁkēri* might be made use of by several families. In that case, *mūruṁkēri* would mean three groups of the families of weavers.

5. *Inscriptions in Northern Karnataka and Kolhāpur State.* Ed. by K. G. Kundanagar No. 34.

6. *E. I.* XII, p. 332-3.

7. *S. I. I., XV, No.* 67, pp. 92-94.

8. *Ibid.*

hiṭṭu. If some inscriptions mention them to be eight, according to some others they were twelve. Dr. J. F. Fleet thinks that *eṇṭu hiṭṭu* might mean eight guilds.[9] Dr. G. S. Dikshit seems to agree with Dr. Fleet when he remarks that the latter's surmise is near the mark[10]. Even if we agree with the views of the veteran scholars still it is necessary to find out as to how the term *hiṭṭu* came to mean guild; who had organised them; why they were called as *hiṭṭus*; how they compared with and differed from other types of artisans' guilds viz., *sēṇi* and *kottaḷi* etc.

Hiṭṭu and Artisans:

First of all, let us see as to how the expression *hiṭṭu* is related to the artisans' communities. The Kolhapur plates of the time of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa[11] dated 1003 A.D. records several grants of land to various artisans and local administrative officers. In that context a black-smith, a gold-smith and the village *taḷawāri* are called as *hiṭṭina-kammāri, hiṭṭina-akkasāle* and *hiṭṭina-taḷawāri*, respectively. A car-penter, however, is called as *hiṭṭukāre baḍagi*. Similarly, in an inscrip-tion from Hosūr[12] (Dharwar District) dated 1186 A.D., a carpenter Kalōja is called as *hiṭṭukāra baḍagi*. Again, from Chikhandigōḷ ins-cription[13] we learn that it was composed by a *hiṭṭina-sēnabōva*. From the evidence of the above examples it appears that the terms denoting artisans like carpeneters, potters, gold-smiths and black-smiths and the village administrative officers like *taḷawār* and *sēnabōva* carried with them the adjective forms of the term *hiṭṭu* viz., *hiṭṭina* and *hiṭṭukāra*.

Hiṭṭu means source of subsistence:

According to Rev. Kittel, the term *hiṭṭu* besides corn-floor, also means food or source of subsistence. Thus, it appears that the village artisans were called as *hiṭṭina-kammāra, hiṭṭina-akkasāle* etc. because they used to receive their wages in return for their service in the form of grain once in a year during the harvest time. In this regard the Hosūr inscription of 1186 A.D. provides us with very important information. According to this inscription *hiṭṭukāra baḍagi* offered for worship all the rice which he should have received in form of wage (*kūli*) in return for his service in the construction of the temple and garden etc. of the god Mōrakēshwar.[14] From this inscription we

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9. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, X, p.* 257 and n.
10. *Local self-government in Mediaeval Karnāṭaka* (1964). p. 60.
11. *Inscriptions in Northern Karnataka and Kolhapur State.* No. 37.
12. *S. I. I.* XV, no. 69.
13. *Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy, Bombay Karnatak Inscriptions.* No. 150 of 1926-27.
14. *S. I. I.* XV No. 69.

come to know that the carpenter Kalōja who is called as *hiṭṭukāra baḍagi* was paid in form of rice in return for his service.

Hiṭṭu means profession:

Shri R. Ramarao takes the term *hiṭṭu* to mean work, labour, profession etc.[15] According to Dr. Dikshit, the term *hiṭṭu* would some time mean profession.[16] When Rev. Kittel interprets the term *hiṭṭu-biṭṭee* to mean forced labour, he also takes the term *hiṭṭu* to mean labour or work or toil, etc.

Hiṭṭu means Guild of Artisans:

Then, the term *hiṭṭu* according to Drs. Fleet and Dikshit as noted above means guild. Besides, in one inscription, among others the *eṇtu-hiṭṭu* is said to have assembled as *Mahānāḍu*[17]. According to Dr. Dikshit *Mahānāḍu* is a confederation of guilds.[18] Thus it would be clear that *hiṭṭu*, here is referred to in the capacity of a guild. The fact that *eṇtu-hiṭṭus* were entrusted with public funds asking them to function as trustees and that they were invariably present in all the important functions and festivals of the village, in donating grants and construction of temples clearly indicate that they were guilds.

From the preceeding discussions it appears that the term *hiṭṭu* is used in at least three different meanings viz., i) source of subsistence ii) profession and iii) the guilds particularly of the artisans. These three meanings however, seem to suggest a pattern of growth. The term *hiṭṭu* which was originally employed to denote food or source of subsistence received particularly in return for service, in course of time, came to mean a profession and then the guild of a professional caste.

Eṇtu-Hiṭṭu and Hanni-Hiṭṭu

Such guilds some times, are said to be eight and some times twelve. That at the beginning the number of such *hiṭṭus* being eight might have developed into twelve seems to be quite logical. But the fact that the inscriptions of 11th century contain references to *hanni-hiṭṭu* whereas the 14th century inscriptions[19] refer to *eṇtu-hiṭṭu* prove our logic fallacious. It is also not easy to prove if *vice-versa* was the case. Probably, according to the demands of a locality, some villages had eight guilds and others twelve.

15. *Saṁbhāvane* (presented to Shri B. M. Shrikanthaiah) p. 213.
16. *Local self-government in Mediaeval Karnāḷaka* p. 60.
17. *S. I. I.* XV, no. 638.
18. *Local self-government in Mediaeval Karnāḷaka p.* 29.
19. *S. I. I.* IX, pt. i No. 86 and Ibid XX, No. 229.

Now let us examine which professional castes constituted eight or twelve *hiṭṭus*. Before we proceed to do so, it is equally important however, to determine as to which professional castes did not constitute these institutions.

The fact that in one and the same inscription references are made to merchant guilds, guilds of weavers, oil-millers, braziers, stone-cutters etc. on the one hand and eight or twelve *hiṭṭus* on the other[20] prove beyond doubt that the former group of professions did not constitute the *hiṭṭus*. The professional castes constituting eight or twelve *hiṭṭus* probably subsisted upon the crop-share received as of right during the harvest time in return for their service. But, for the merchants, the weavers, the braziers and the oil-millers, the system of receiving fixed crop-share in return for supplying the village people with their respective items of trade in abundant quantity throughout the year might have seemed quite impracticable. Similarly, the agriculturists might have felt impracticable to give crop-share every year to the stone-cutters, well-diggers etc. whose services they may require once in a way.

Thus having determined with some probable reasons as to which professional castes did not constitute *hiṭṭus*, now we can enumerate which were the professional castes that had organized guilds called as *hiṭṭus*. Putting aside the merchants, the weavers, the oil millers, braziers, stone-cutters, well-diggers, the professional castes that are inevitable for day-to-day life of the agriculturists are the carpenters, black-smiths, gold-smiths, potters, shoe-makers, rope-makers, barbers, washermen etc. As noted above, we possess epigraphical evidences for the guilds of carpenters, black-smiths, gold-smiths being called as *hiṭṭus*. For others we can safely rely upon the parallel institutions of a later period viz., the *Āyagāra* system and *Bārābalūte* system. The origin of the latter two systems is to be traced to the *Hanni-hiṭṭu* system of Karnataka. Since the evidences regarding the *Āyagāra* system and that of *Bārābalūte* are unambiguous, we can easily infer that all the professional castes which constituted either *Āyagāra* system or *Bārābalūte* system had also constituted the system of eight or twelve *hiṭṭus*. Thus it is clear that the above mentioned eight professional castes which constituted *Āyagāra* system also constituted eight-*hiṭṭus*, and probably they were twelve when four more artisans or village officers were added to the group.

Factors Determining the Employment of various Terms for Guilds of Artisans.

Now we have reached a certain stage where it may be possible for

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20. *S. I. I.* XX, No. 118; *Inscriptions in Northern Karnāḷaka and Kolhapur State*, No. 34; *E. I.* XII, pp. 332-333.

us to determine as to whether any particular pattern was followed in employing terms to describe the guilds of artisans. It is clear that the term *shrēni* or *sēni* was invariably employed to denote the guilds of weavers and the merchants. Since a view is in current among some sections of the weavers' community of Karnataka that they had come from the North and had settled in Karnataka, it is quite probable that they retained the Sanskrit term *shrēni* for their guilds. Similarly the merchant communities had wide contacts throughout the length and breadth of India. Therefore, it is probable that they adopted a term that was common for the guilds of merchants all over the country in those days viz., *shrēni*. It seems then that the professional castes indigenous of Karnataka might have adopted *kottaḷi*, a term of Dravidian origin, for their guilds. Perhaps this term might have been in use since early times in Karnataka. The village units of professional castes which assisted agriculturists in their day-to-day necessities and subsisted upon the crop-share received annually in return for service probably employed the term *hiṭṭu* for their guilds. In the inscription from Yēwūr already mentioned, only the stone-cutters' and braziers' guilds are called as *kottaḷis* whereas those of black-smiths, carpenters and gold-smiths are not. Thus it appears that the guilds of black-smiths carpenters and gold-smiths which constituted *hiṭṭus* were not included among the *kottaḷis*. In the inscription from Shēdbāḷ all the three varieties of guilds viz., *sēni, kottaḷi* and *hiṭṭu* are mentioned implying thereby that there were clear differences among the three types of guilds of artisans mentioned above.

But, however, we face a problem when we come across references to such terms as *sēniga-gottaḷi*.[21] At the present stage it may be suggested that *sēniga-gottaḷi* most probably, meant the confederation of guilds.

Among other terms used to denote the guilds of artisans *samaya, samudāya, jāti* etc. were important. But whereas *sēni, kottaḷi* and *hiṭṭu* were technical terms *samaya, samudāy* and *jāti* were general terms implying that these guilds were caste organisations.

Headman of the Guild:

Each guild of artisans had a headman. Thus for example, in the Lakshmēśwar inscription the headman of the weavers' guild is called as *Sēṇiya*.[22] Some times, the headman of the guild was also called as *gauḍa*,[23] perhaps the other probability being that the *gauḍa*, the village headman was also the headman of the guilds. In matters of local

21. *E. I.* V, p. 23
22. *E. I.* VI, p. 116.
23. *Ibid*, V, p. 23.

administration and public functions he used to represent his respective guild. He was empowered to donate grants to religious and public purposes on behalf the members of the guild. Thus, the Lakshmēśwar inscription referred to earlier, records a religious grant made by the head-man of the guild of weavers of the *mūruṁkēri* of Purigere i.e. Lakshmēśwar.

These guild organisations which compared with trade unions of modern days enabled the artisans' communities to play their role not only in the economic but also in the social, religious and administrative aspects of the life of mediaeval Karnataka.

A FIRMAN OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH

B. R. GOPAL

In February 1970, while touring in some villages in the Hungund and Muddebihal taluks of the Bijapur District, Mysore State, I came across an old copy of a *sanad* in the possession of Sri. Y. S. Inamdar of Tālikōṭe. I got it for examination through the good offices of Sri. S. B. Sajjan of that place. The owner of this interesting document was kind enough to permit me to take a photostat copy of the document, which is reproduced here. I am thankful to these two persons for their kind cooperation.

The document was already in a decayed condition and the owner had made a further copy of the same for preserving it. The owner informed me that when the original document became too brittle, his forefathers had it copied and they had clearly stated therein that it was a copy of the original. Thereafter at least for five times copies appear to have been made as and when the earlier copy became brittle.
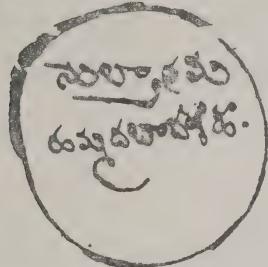
The document is dated Sūr San Saba Khamas' īn Va Alaf which is said to be equivalent to Hijari San 1067, as given in line 2 of the *sanad*. More details are given on the right hand top, by the side of the royal seal of Sultan Mahammada Bādashaha. Here the date (*tārīkhu*) is given as 7, Moharam, San 1067 Hijri. In Hijra 1067, the 7th day of Moharam corresponds to Thursday, 16th October 1656 A.D.[1] The first part of the date i.e. Sūr San Saba Khamasīna Va Alaf would be 1057 of the Arabi San which, according to the *Jantri*[2] would correspond to Hijri 1068 and not 1067. The intended date appears to be 16th October, 1656 A.D.

The document is addressed to the Desayi *Va* Desamukh of Tālikōṭe *pargaṇa*. It says that Mallappa son of Mudakappa of the Machigera family stitched specially for the Bādashaha, i.e. Muhammad Shah the Sultan of Bijapur, a pair of shoes, described as *machchijōḍu*, which was so delicate that it could be put in a lime fruit. He is stated to have presented the lemon containing these shoes to the Sultan. Sayyad, the Vazir Pradhāna, and Mulla (another officer), opened the lemon fruit and found the shoes encased within it. The king and all the members of the *Subha* were extremely pleased at this. The Sultan then made a gift of land as Ināam. The document says that it was one *chāhōra* of

1. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai: *An Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI, p. 115.
2. *Indian Chronological Tables* (*Jantri*) edited by Sri. R. S. Panchamukhi, p. 51. In the document, after Saba, there is another letter which cannot be made out. It may be read as *la*. But it may also be that some letter which was begun to be written was scored out before completing it. *Saba Khamaśīn* is, however, clear in its meaning.

ಅಸಲಖಾಡಕಳು —

ಸಲ್ಯಾಶಮಿ
ಉಮ್ಮದಬಾದಶಹ.

ಲಾಲೆಟುಖ ಖಾಡಳು
ಸರಂಬ್ರಿ ಅಂತಿ

ವರಗನಿಬ್ಬಾಗೆಕೋಬಿಡು ದೇಶಾಯಿಶ ವಿಶ್ರಮುಬುಖುಶ
ಸೂರಸನ್ಸ ಖಾರಾ ಖಮಿಕೀಶ ಅಲಘ ಅಂಬ್ರಿಶಿಖಿಶಗಸ೦ಂಬಿ
ಮಲ್ಲ ಫ್ವಾಲ ೦ದಿ ಮುದಶ ಫ್ವಿ ಖಡಿಗೀಲ ಯುಲಟು ಸರಿಡ
ಜೂಂರ ಜಹಾ೦ವಶಃ ಬಾದಶಹಸಾಯುವಾಗಿ ಖುಟ್ಟ ಫ್ಲೋದು
ತ ಯಾಗ್ರಿ ಮಾಡಿ ಲಂಬಿಡು೦ುಡಕಲ್ಲ ಖುಮ್ಮ ಬಾದಶಹ೦ತಿಗೆ
ಖುಖಿ೦ ಮಾಡಿ ಫ್ಲರಿಂದಾ ಸಂತಾಲ್ಲಶ್ತಿ ಬಲುಮೊಶ್ಚ್ಲಮಯಾಫ್
ಡೆಯಿಖಿ ವಲೀಲಶ್ವಿ ಹಾಸರಾಶ ಸಲ್ಚದಸಸಾ ಮಖಲ್ಲಾ ಸಾ ಯುಶ
ಖುಲಂಬಿಡೆ೦ಯುಖಿಶ್ಟಿ ಸೋ ಡಿದಿಡು. ಶಖಿಲ ಉ೦ಗಿಸೋಳಗಿ
ಖುಶ್ಟಿ ಲೆಬೋಡಿಯುಟ್ಟು, ಅಡಸ್ಟ ಸೋ ಲಿ ಬಾಶಶಿಹ ಸ ಯಾ
ವಲ್ಟ್ರಾ ಮಖಿಯುಮಂಡ ಸ ಸಯಾರ್ಯೋ ಚ್ ಡಚ ಮ್ಮ ಬಡಳಮೀ
ಉ೦ಬಾಸಿಯಿಂದಾ ಎಂಡುಬಾಹಿಡಹರ ಮಿಲ್ಲಾ ಸ ಬ್ಲಾ ವಿ
ಯುಖ್ಕಿ ಯಾಸಾಮಕೂ ತೋ ತೋಲಾ ವಾಯಿಟು. ಸಡವೀ ಮಲ್ಲ
ಫ್ವಾ ಯಿಸ ಸುಡುಟುವಿಗಿ. ಬೀಡಿ ಕೊಂಡಿಸ್ಟಿ ೦ಂಡಾ ಕೆಳಗಿಬ
ಸಡವುಹಾ೦ಬಾ ಟುಗಳ ಕಪ್ಟುಹೂ ಮ್ಮ ಟುಟ್ಟಾ ಹಿ

ಶಿಲ್ಪುಶಾಲಾ ಬಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಉಪ್ಪುಮೂಳ್ಳುರು ಡ್ಡ

೧ ಎಬ್ರಾಮೂಲ ಮಪ್ಪೆಯಗ್ಳಿಸಿ ಯಾ ವಪ್ಪುಹಚ್ಚಿ ಕೇಲಮುಲ ಕ್ಷೂಲ್ಬ್ರಿ ಲನ

೨ ಸಿರಹಾಲಯುಕ್ಷಕು ಕುಕುಮ ಅಂಗ್ ಭ್ಯಿಗಿ ಬಕ ವಂ ದು ಅಂಗ ಡಿಸಿ
ಯಕ ಟ ಲಾನಿ ಯಂತೆ ಕಪ್ಪು (ಪ್ರೆಯ್ಯ) ಟೂರಕಳ್ಳ ಬ್ದಿ . . —

೩ (ಪ್ರಿ)ಲ ಯೂಂ ಸು ಲಗ್ನಿ ಯಾ ಹುಟ ಸ ಹಸಾಲ ಸ್ಥಿ ಸ ಹಲಿಲಾ ಟ್ರ ಯುವ ಟ
ಮಾ ದ ಯು ಮಂ ಯಾಕ ಎಟ್ಟಿ ಬ್ರಾ ಭಟಾ ರುಕ ಕಪ್ಪು ಮ ಗ ಹಾ ಫ ಧ ಟ ಳ ಢ

೪ ಆ ಬಾ ಯು ಗಳ ಕಪ್ಪು ಮೂ ರಿ ಲ ತ ದ್ದು ಲ್ಲ ಸಿ ಸ ಹ ರಿ ಬಾ ದ ಸ್ಥ ದ ರು ರ ಯ
ಂ ಹಾ ವಂ ಮು ಟ ಬ ಮ ತುಂಬ . ಅಕ ಢಿ (ಮೂರ್ ಳಡು ಕ ಗ ಳ) ಕ ಖಾ
ಸ ಮೂ(ಲ್ಕ್ರ ಶ . ವ ಕಾ ಯ ಟ ರೂ(ಟು ಸ . ಕ ಮ ಕ ಖಂ ಕ ಮುಂ ಟಾ
ಕ ಲ್ಪುಗಳ ಸ್ಪ ಟೂಂಪ್ಪು ಕ ಕ ರಾ ಟ ಮಾ ಮೂ ಲ ರಾ ವಾ ಯ ಟ್ರಿ . —
ಯ ಕ ಕ್ಸ ಯಾ ಸ ಮ ಸ ಲ್ಹಾ ಸ . ಕ ೩ಸ್ಸ ೨ ವಾ ರ ಕ ವ ಕು ವ ಹಂ ಸ ಬ್ಬ ಕ ಕು
ಹ ರ ಕ ಟು ಮಾ ಡಿ ಡ ಕೆ ಟ ಪ್ರ ಟ್ರಾ ಯ ಮು ಟ ಟ ಲಾ ಟಿ ಪ್ರುಂ ಟ ಹಾ ಇ ಕ್ರ
ಕ ಲ್ಲ ಕಿ ಸ ಹ ರಿ ಪಟ್ಟಿ ಲ ಪ್ರೂ(ಟ್ರು ಅ ಪ ಕ ಮೊ(ಹಾ ರಿ ಯ ಪು ಲ್ ಟ್ರ ಯ
ಪ್ರುಂ ಟ ಲಾ ನ್ಸ ಲ್ ಳ ಶಿ . ಮ ಸ ಲ್ಹಾ ಸ ಲ ಬ ಹ ಕ ಲ್ಪ್ಪು ಮಾ ಡಿ ಡ ಕೆ
ಹಂ ಸಿ ಆಂ ಗ ಲಿ ಯ ಯ ಶ ಲ್ ಳ ಶಿ . ಇ ಫ್ಸ ೨ ಹಾ ಕ ದ ಪ ಕು ಹ ರ ಕ ಟು ಮಾ ಟಿ
ಥ ಕೆ . ಕಾ ಫಿ ಯ ಲ್ಲ ಮೂ(ಲ ಕ ಟ ಪ್ರಿ ವಾ ಲಿ ನಂ ಟ ಸ . ಹಂ ಮಾ ಟ ನ ಡ ಕ ಟ
ಕ ಶ ಲು ಮಾ ಟಿ ಡ ಲಿ ಯ ಕ್ಷಿಂ ಲಂ ಕ ಕ ಮ ಟ ಸೋ(ಡ್ರ ಲ್ಪ್ರ (ಮೂ
ಡಿ ರಂ ಟ ಹಾ ಡ ಳ ಕ . ಸ . ಮ ಪ್ಪೆ ಯ ಲ್ಲ ಹುಂ ಟ ಲ ಯು ಕ ರು ಕು ಕ ಕೌ
ಎ ಪ್ರ ಳ ಯ ಮಾ ಸ ಹ ಕ್ಷು ಕು ಮ ಕ . ಟ ಯ ಲ್ಲ ಖಾ ಯು ಗ ಳ ಕ್ಷ್ಟ ಶ ಯಾ
ಮ ಯು ಕ್ಷ್ಟ ಕು ಲ್ ಟ ಸ ಮಾ ಡ ಯು ಬ್ಬಿ (ಡ್ಳ ಕಾ ಕ . ಸ ಹ ರಿ ಮ ಲ್ಲ ಫ್ಪಿ ಸಿ .
ಗೂ ಅ ಪ ಕ ಕೌ ಫ ಕ ಪ ಸಿ ಹಾ . ಹಾ ಕ್ ಟ ಕೌ ೨ ಟ ಯಾ ನಿ ಕ ಟ ಕ ಟ .
ಕೃ ಡ್ಡ – –

land that was gifted. Probably the term *chāhōra* refers to a unit of land.

Further, at the request of the said Mallappa he was given some rights which are enumerated. Accordingly, he was to be the Chaudri over all the cobblers of Vijāpūr Sube. 2) All persons of that community were to give him an amount as right *hakku* (*patti*), two annas (*yaradu āne*) per shop per month. 3) On the marriage occasions in their families the members of that community were to honour him first by offering him the betel leaves (*mariyāde vīlya*) since he now had been named the Chaudri. 4) Besides these rights to which he was now entitled, the donee was honoured by the Sultan who presented him a plate (*tabaku*) full of gold coins (*asarafi moharugalu*), *Khānapōshāka*, *śālajōdu*, *kamaraband* etc. *Khānapōshāka* means the apparel worn by the Mohammadan nobles. *Śālujōdu* is the double shawl, or simply a shawl presented to honour an individual. *Kamarband* is similarly a cloth tied to the waist, as an honour.

The latter part of the record, from line 24 contains imprecatory sentences, as was generally the case in the epigraphs and other records of the period.

Interesting to note is the great craftsmanship of Mallappa who stitched a pair of shoes, out of such fine leather that it could be rolled into a lemon fruit. Obviously, the kernel of the fruit appears to have been taken out before the shoes were inserted in! The Bijapur Sultan, Muhammad Shah, gave patronage to artists and craftsmen without any distinction of caste or creed. It is well known that during the reign period of this ruler his kingdom reached the zenith of prosperity. It was during his regime that the Asar Mahal and the Gol Gumbaz came to be constructed at Bijapur. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Sultan suitably honoured Mallappa.

The date of the document is interesting in one respect. Muhammad Shah is known to have died on the 4th of November 1656 A.D. The present document came into existence on October 16th. This means that it came into existence just twenty days before the death of Muhammad Shah. It is known that during the last years of rule he had become bed-ridden and the administration was carried on by his officers like the Vazir. The document refers to Sayyad as the Vazir. The text of the document is given below.

<p align="center">Asalu Sanadina nakalu</p>

Sultana	San 1067 Hichari
Mahammada Bādashaha[1]	Tarikhu 7 Moharama

1. Peragane Tālikōtiya Dēsāyi va Dēśamukha yivarige
2. Sūr San Saba. Khamaśīna va Alaf amdre Hijari San 1067

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1. These two lines are engraved within a round seal.

3.   Mallappa taṁdi Mudakappa Machigēra yītanu Sari Hu-
4.   Jūra jahāṁpanaḥ Bādaśāhara saluvāgi machchijōḍu
5.   tayyāramāḍi liṁbihaṁṇinalli yiṭu Bādaśaharige
6.   mujari māḍiddarimdā ā kālakke bahu doḍḍa maryā-
7.   devuḷḷa vachīrapradhānarāda Seyyadanu Mullānu yiva-
8.   ru liṁbihaṁṇu bichchi nōḍidaru—Sadarī haṁṇinoḷage
9.   machchijōḍu yittu Adannu nōḍi Bādaśaha va yā-
10. vattū Subheya maṁḍaḷi saṁtōshapaṭṭu bahaḷa me-
11. harabānagiyiṁdā vaṁdu chāhōra Sultāni bhūmi-
12. yannu yināmu koḍōṇavāyitu Sadari Mmalla-
13. ppā yivanu Hujūrige bēdikoṁdaddarimda keḷage ba-
14. reda prakāra bābugaḷa hakku koṭṭiruttade
15. 1 Vijāpūra Subheyoḷagina Yāvattu machigēra mēle chaudritana
16. 2 Sadara jātiya janaru daravaṁdu tiṁgaḷige daravaṁdu aṁgaḍige
17. yaraḍu āṇeyaṁte hakku (paṭṭi) koḍatakkaddu . . .
18. 3 pratiyoṁdu lagna muhūrtada kālakke sadarī jātiyavaru
19. modalu mariyāde vīḷya chaudri
      bābatanaddu mānavānu koḍatakkaddu
20. 4 Ī bābugaḷa hakku doretaddallade sadari Bādaśaharu daya-
21. dimda vamdu tabaku tuṁbi aśarafii (moharugaḷu) va khā-
22. napōshaka va śālujōḍu va kamarabaṁda muṁtā-
23. davugaḷannu koṭu sarafarāta māḍōṇavāyitu-
Lines 24-30   contain imprecatory statements
31. ḍidaṁte Bādaśaha va Subheyalli maṁḍaḷiyavaru barako-
32. ṭṭa Faramānada hukuminaṁte yalla bābugaḷannu va bhū-
33. miyannu mēle namūda yidda prakāra sadari Mallappani-
34. gū avana vaṁśadavarigū vaṁṣapāraṁpareyāgi naḍisata-
35. kkaddu . . . .

Mysore Maratha Relations in the 17th Century: By Dr. B. Muddachari,. Published by Prasaranga, University of Mysore, 1969, Pp. 176, Price: Rs. 16/-.

After the defeat of Vijayanagar in the battle of Talikota (Rakshasa-tangdi) there was no strong power in South Karnatak. This gap was sought to be filled in the 17th Century by the Wodeyars of Mysore and the Marathas, first under Shahji and then under Shivaji. Ultimately Mysore was successful in ousting the Marathas under Sambhaji from this area. The full story of this Mysore – Maratha struggle in the 17th century has not received the attention that it deserves because no historian has applied himself to one of the important sources viz. in Kannada with the care which the author of this monograph has done. Not only has he made use of all published Kannada sources like *Keladinripa Vijaya, Apratima Vīra Charitam, Chikkadva-rāya Binnapa, Kanthīrava Narasarāja Vijayam*, etc. but what is much more commendable is, he has consulted twenty-two unpublished contemporary works in the rich repositories in the Oriental Research Institute in Mysore and the Oriental Library in Madras.

Complete use of the Kannada sources does not mean following them blindly. Nor does it mean neglect of the sources in Marathi or Persian or English. At every stage, the author checks the information from the Kannada sources with the information from other sources and arrives at an acceptable solution to suit the circumstances. Two instances may be given. In 1634, the Adil Shahi general Ranadulla Khan invaded the territories of Kanthīrava Narasa Rāja and fought with him. The Mysore sources claim victory for their ruler, while the Adil Shahi records claim it for their general. But since it is a fact that two agents of the Adil Shah were stationed in Mysore to collect tribute from the Mysore ruler, our author concludes rightly that the Kannada sources claimed too much for their ruler. (p. 18).

A similar situation arises in the fight between the forces of Aurangzeb and the army of Rāni Channammāji of Keladi. The *Keladi Nripa Vijaya* saya that Channammāji defeated the Moghul forces. But the circumstances after the war indicate, to our author, that final victory lay with the Moghuls (p. 121).

The author has taken great pains in identifying the various invasions of Mysore by the Marathas. Not only does he describe

them, he also goes behind the events to find out the causes of the invasions. To give one example, he discusses at length (pp. 68–78) the various causes and motives for Shivaji's Karnatak expedition and comes to the correct conclusion that though persons like Mādanna may have encouraged him and generals like Raghunāth Nārāyan helped in its execution, the author of the plan was Shivaji himself and that his motive was conquest and not plunder.

One of the conclusions which emerges from Dr. Muddachari's work is that though Shahaji's fame may have been overshadowed by that of Shivaji, one of the chief reasons for the son excelling the father was the example set by the father in establishing almost an independent state in and around Bangalore.

This work which will bring credit to the University of Mysore would have been even better if it had been properly edited, in which case there would not have been the few minor slips in composition and presentation. The University which is doing so much for Kannada studies could do well to publish the Kannada sources of Maratha History which our author has laboriously unearthed and get them translated by him into English for the benefit of the non-Kannada knowing scholars.

The book is excellently printed by the Manipal Power Press and its usefulness is enhanced by a map in colour, learned appendices and a fairly full bibliography. The index is incomplete.

G. S. Dikshit.

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